



RAFFAELLO  
SANTI  
DA URBINO

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

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RAPHAEL AND HIS FRIEND COUNT CASTIGLIONE  
LOUVRE

RAFFAELLO  
SANTI  
DA URBINO

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

BY

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## P R E F A C E

THE Danish edition of this book appeared in 1919. In the present English translation the analyses of Raphael's works have been partially revised and augmented with a new theory on ›The school of Athens‹. Endeavours have been made to render as faithfully as possible the old-fashioned style of the letters and ›*memoriale*‹ of Raphael.

V W





## THE LIFE OF RAPHAEL FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES

**R**APHAEL was born at Urbino on the sixth of April 1483 (1), the only son of the painter Giovanni Santi and his wife Magià Ciarla. His paternal ancestors were peasants who had prospered as corn-dealers, the house where he was born and which is still to be seen in the street Contrada del Monte was purchased in 1463 by his grandfather Sante di Peruzzolo (2) and remained, during the whole of Raphael's lifetime, the family home, where his nearest relatives lived his father's brother Dom Bartolomeo ('uncle priest') and his aunt Santa Santi, widow of the tailor Bartolomeo di Marino ('la Santa'). The race was, it would appear, a vigorous one. Giovanni Santi by becoming a painter late in life displayed likewise exceptional energy, he laments his lot in the prologue of a long poem which he had written in Dante's terza-rima in honour of the Duke of Urbino, his whole life he describes as a series of worries. When Magia Ciarla died in 1491 he remarried and his second wife was with child when death overtook him in the summer of 1494. Thus Raphael was left an orphan and lived with Dom Bartolomeo

(1) From the inscription on the tomb Doc. XLV

(2) Pungileoni, *Elogio storico di Giovanni Santi da Urbino*, 1822



it thoroughly, the archives tell us nothing about his doings, except that he was absent from Urbino in May 1500, the agreement with his step-mother being signed by the notary 'pro dicto Raffaele absente' (1) *(1) Doc. IV*

The contract for the altarpiece gives us to understand that the two painters, Raffaello and Evangelista, were thrown on their own resources, since the payment amounting to but 33 gold ducats, was to be paid in three instalments the first at the beginning of the work 'that the said masters might provide themselves with paint', the second when half of the work was done 'to enable them to live', the third when it was completed. But five years later Raphael was already a known master who could demand payment in advance and could afford to execute a painting at his leisure or give it up half way. This is shown by two remarkable facts known to us from the year 1505, first by the contract with the nuns of the Monteluce cloister of Perugia and secondly by the unfinished fresco of S Severo in the same town. Much during the whole of this period is problematic, but it is certain that Raphael is named with the greatest appreciation by some very conservative nuns and their trusted advisers in Perugia, and that speaks well, both for his reputation, his business ability and his good connections. It is said 'that the Abbess retiring from the Monteluce cloister of Perugia wishing that the church should have a great altarpiece, but unable to carry out this plan during her term of office, had instituted a search for the best master on the recommendation of many burghers as also of the reverend fathers who had seen his work, namely him who calls himself Maestro Raffaello da Urbino, with whom was made a contract' (2) Raphael received an advance but did not paint the altarpiece, the contract was renewed in 1516 (3) but he again withdrew from his engagement. Five years after his death his pupils Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano handed over the painting of 'The coronation of the Madonna' now in the Pinacotheca of the Vatican *(2) Doc. VI* *(3) the original in the Louvre Doc. XXV*

Vasari who knew no more than we do of the details of Raphael's youth, invented from the presence of his paintings in Città di Castello, Perugia and Florence, a long story of various journeys between these towns, and stated that Raphael, about the year 1504, went to Florence to study Leonardo's and Michelangelo's celebrated compositions of the fighting horsemen and the bathing soldiers. On one point only is his information trustworthy, namely when he says that Raphael gave his protector Taddeo Taddei two Madonna paintings, for Raphael in a letter to the brother of his mother, dated 1508, mentions Taddeo Taddei with the greatest respect and affection, and one of the paintings mentioned is identical with 'die Jungfrau im Grünen' dated 1505, which was bought at the end of the seventeenth century by an Austrian Archduke from the casa Taddei at Florence. This picture is one of Raphael's masterpieces. More doubtful is Vasari's mention of the pictures Raphael is said to have painted for the Duke of Urbino, amongst these a miniature 'Christ in the garden of Gethsemane', which subsequently was given to some noble Venetian hermits of Camaldoli. This statement may be compared with a passage in Pietro Bembo's letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1507 to Don Michele Fiorentino of Camaldoli, promising him a miniature painting which the Duchess Elisabetta proposes to give him 'executed





his soul! I could not really read your letter without tears, but transient, it cannot be altered one must have patience and submit oneself to God's will

I wrote recently to uncle priest that he should send me the small panel which is the cover of the Madonna of our 'Profetessa' (1), but he has not sent it to me. Therefore I pray you let him know whenever there is a person who is to travel so that I can satisfy the gracious lady, for you must know that now one has good use for them. Also I pray you, dearest uncle, to tell the priest and la Santa that when the Florentine Taddeo Taddei arrives, he whom we have spoken of many times, they must make much of him without sparing on any point, and you will surely also be kind to him because of my love for him, for I am indebted to him for as much as any living man can be

(1) *Giovanna della Rovere, see note to the letter*

I have not set any price on the picture and I do not wish to do so at all, if it rest with me, because it would be best that it should be valued, therefore I have not written of this, a matter regarding which I could not and still cannot make a statement. Besides, the owner of the picture has told me that he will give an order of about 300 ducats in gold (for pictures) to sell here or in France. After the feast I shall perhaps write at what price the picture is valued for we shall start on this after Easter (2) when I have finished the cartoons

(2) 23 of April

I should like very much if it were possible to have a letter of recommendation from the prefect to the Gonfalonero (3) at Florence, and not many days since I wrote to uncle and to Giacomo da Roma that they should procure me this, for it would be of much use to me with regard to the work of a certain room, the matter resting with his Highness, I entreat you, if it be possible, to send it to me, as I think that if you ask the prefect for it, he will have it prepared. Commend me a thousand times to him as his old servitor and familiaris. No more. Commend me to master . (4) and Rudolfo (5) and to all the others (X)XI April MDVIII

(3) *President Piero Soderini (1502—1512)*

(4) *blotted out*  
(5) *the uncle's nephew Rudolfo Zaccagna.*

Your RAPHAEL painter

Florence'

Raphael did not obtain what he wanted. In the course of this or the next year he must have gone to Rome where he entered the service of Julius II, as in the year 1511 — this is the first definite date in Raphael's Roman period — he finished the decorations of the Camera della segnatura in the Vatican which presupposes that he must have worked there already for some years

The date of the commencement of this work may indirectly be inferred from the fact that, with certain presuppositions which subsequently will be mentioned, the date of the decoration of the next room (stanza d'Elodoro) may be given as July 1511 — (at the latest) November 1512, about 16 months in all. Thus the work of the Camera della segnatura, which was finished (at the latest) in November 1511, may have been commenced in 1510 or at the end of 1509. In the accounts of the Vatican Raphael's name is not found in the year 1509 (6), but this is no decisive proof as he is not mentioned in these until 1514. Neither does Albertini (7) mention him among the artists working at the Vatican

(6) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle Raphael (9 e.) II, 1885, p. 9*

(7) *Opusculum de mirabilibus Urbis Romae. ed. Schwarzwald 1886*



character They all originate from ancient literature, which hitherto has only been observed in respect to one of the inscriptions (1)

(1) *More particulars in the list of Raphael's works*

In consequence of the aforementioned calculations we conjecture that the decorations of the Camera della segnatura were begun in Autumn 1509 or about New Year 1510, and that Raphael continued the work until the home coming of Pope Julius from North Italy on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June 1511: at this juncture the fourth wall-picture was certainly still missing, as on one of its smaller pictures is painted the portrait of Pope Julius II with the white beard which he had raised during the war. Also the medallions and the corner paintings of the ceiling which were inserted in an older ornamental decoration of Sodoma (executed 1508—09), were probably painted last, whereas the style of these paintings has become primitive in the hands of the assistant, consequently this part has hitherto been regarded as the oldest The whole work was finished before the end of November 1511, according to the two synonymous inscriptions above the windows

IVLIVS II PONT MAX ANN CHRI MDXI PONTIFICATVS SVI VIII

In the archives of Mantova an interesting letter, dating from the Summer of 1511, is to be found, addressed to Isabella d Este whose son was staying at Rome as a hostage for her husband, the Margrave of Mantova, and who was much petted by the Pope It is dated the 16<sup>th</sup> August and is written by the young Federico Gonzaga's mentor Stazio Gadio When reporting all the young prince undertook, he wrote 'His Holiness has decided that Raphael shall make the portrait of S<sup>r</sup> Federico in a room which is being painted in the palace where his Holiness has already been painted after nature with a beard' (2) This can only apply to the monumental portrait of Julius II. in 'The Mass of Bolsena' painted in the second of the rooms (Stanza d'Elodoro)

(2) *Doc. X.*

Julius II must have been pleased with this masterly picture: he had grown up in the time of Melozzo da Forlì and Ghirlandajo. and in his youth he had been painted by Melozzo in the fresco of the founding of the Vatican library where Plotina kneels before Pope Sixtus IV. the uncle of Julius II. He was not nearly as interested in the new style of Raphael and Michelangelo, but he showed the desire again to get a good portrait Whereas he let more than a month pass after his arrival before finding a moment to look at 'the paintings recently de-vested of their scaffolding' (3) of Michelangelo in the Sixtine chapel. he had at once given orders to Raphael to interrupt the work in the Camera della segnatura and to commence the historical frescos with portraits in the Stanza d'Elodoro We learn this from Stazio Gadio's letter.

(3) *Paris de Grassis, Diagram, 14—15 August Steinmann II, 722.*

The completion of the decorations in the next room is dated by two different inscriptions over the two windows. one from 1512 under Julius II. and one from 1514 under Leo X, respectively under 'The Mass of Bolsena' and 'The deliverance of St Peter' Thus it was supposed that the decorations were begun in 1512 and finished in 1514 (4) the first date referring to 'The Mass of Bolsena' itself But originally in the Stanza d'Elodoro too, as in the Camera della segnatura. there must have been similar inscriptions both bearing the date of 1512. which hypothesis is confirmed as Raphael in 1512—13 was occupied with a

(4) *Rosenberg-Groan p. 233, Steinmann p. 120*



banners which are still preserved (Zürich)! On account of the style of the picture too we must presume that 'The Madonna di S Sisto' was painted at about the year 1512, also the coiffure of Barbara is the same as in 'The Mass of Bolsena' in the group of women to the left. It is thus very probable that we have discovered the approximative date of this renowned picture, which until now on the authority of Vasari, has been placed in Raphael's latest period. Our hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that Piacenza broke its bonds at the death of Julius II and was excommunicated by Leo X, who in the Spring of 1513 became reconciled to Piacenza but who, by the convention of Bologna December 1515 (1) handed the town over to Francis I. That Leo X should have presented an altarpiece to the town, or that Raphael himself should have accepted an order from some casual monks in North Italy when he, in later years excused himself to kings and princes or gave them the works of pupils is as improbable an assumption. A slight example of Raphael's reserve is to be found in the Mantova papers. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of May 1512 Isabella d'Este writes to Matteo Ippoliti at Rome that she had been 'obliged to give away that portrait which was made at Bologna of our little son Federico, and she would like to have another more beautiful and more elegant. Thus we would beg you to see if 'Raphaëlle de Zoanne de Sancto da Urbino' is at Rome and ask him to paint a half-length portrait of him in his armour' (2). Isabella reposed the greatest trust in him, because his father had painted her 'one says that he paints well from nature', was said of the old Santi (1494) (3). Raphael did not take up the work before January 1513. He made a charcoal drawing of the young Gonzaga in his armour and with an artistic barret made by his mother and fully described in one of the letters (4). On the 13<sup>th</sup> of January Raphael began to paint the portrait, but on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February he sent back the wardrobe which had been left with him, with the excuse that 'he had at the moment no brains for painting portraits' (dice la S(ignoria) V(ostra) li pardonî per adesso non saria possibile che gie avesse il cervello a retrarlo (5)). This took place just in the days when Julius II lay dying. A short time after Federico Gonzaga went home — From later years followed other examples of Raphael's unwillingness to work for Isabella d'Este and her brother the Duke of Ferrara.

(1) Gregorovius *refered VIII, 202* The handing over of the town took place already at the preliminary peace of Viterbo, October of this year, Pastor, *Gesch d Päpste IV I, 86*

(2) *Doc. XIV*

(3) *Luziop 571*

(4) *Luziop 544*

(5) *Luziop 549*

The death of Julius II on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1513 brought uncertainty in all circumstances, perhaps also in Raphael's, he did not know how the future would shape under the new Pope. Already during the conclave there was a feeling in favour of the election of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, later Leo X. Raphael had the best introduction to the Pope through Bernardo Dovizi da Bibiena, teacher and secretary of Cardinal Medici, who was very successful in agitating for him during the conclave and who himself shortly after was appointed cardinal and Papal minister of finance. He belonged to the literary circle of Urbino. Raphael stood on friendly terms with him, and some years later it was decided that Raphael should marry the daughter of his brother's son. This can be read in the interesting letter from Raphael to his mother's brother 1514. Also to Bramante, the architect of the church of St. Peter and the Vatican, Raphael was intimately connected, this is noticeable



equally large instalments, monthly, if you so desire. But you, we summon, in God's name, to take up your duties in order that you acquire practice in the execution of the same, both for the sake of your name as for that of your reputation to which you early in life should lay good foundations, as well as for the sake of the hope we repose in you and in recognition of our Fatherly good-will towards you, finally also for the sake of the sanctuary which has always been far the greatest and most holy on earth as regards veneration and renown, and for the respect and piety we owe the Apostolic Prince himself

Given this 1<sup>st</sup> of August in the second year of our Pontificate Rome'

Fra Giocondo received an almost identical document, his salary amounting to 100 guilder more, Giuliano da Sangallo's salary was the same as Raphael's (1). Yet both these elder men died already during the following year, and in 1517 the younger Antonio was appointed successor to Giuliano as 'coadiutor' but only on half pay. Antonio da Sangallo was not on good terms with Raphael, in any case, he aimed a bitter criticism of Raphael's architecture (2).

(1) *Pastor IV, 1, 545, n. 2*

(2) *Doc. LVII*

Leo X was primarily very much interested in the great undertaking for the accomplishment of which he wished to grant great sums. We learn this both from a letter by Fra Giocondo and from one written by Raphael. On the 2<sup>d</sup> of August 1514 Fra Giocondo writes to the famous printer and publisher Aldus Manutius at Venice (3).

(3) *Manuscript in the Vatican, translated by Nolhac in 'Courrier de l'Art' 1888 (supplement to L'Art) p. 78*

'My dearest Messer Alde.

During the terrible and dangerous heat prevailing here, everybody tries to live and keep himself healthy, scarcely anything else is spoken of. Bernardino is ill, as well as another (servitor) I had brought with me from Venice and so far they have cost me a good sum of ducats. How I was expected and how well I was received by many persons and especially by the Pope are sufficiently shown by the results. I shall not say much but state facts. In the first place the Pope has given me 100 papal gold ducats, then he has paid me 80 carline ducats to enable me to take a certain house close to the palace and the church of St Peter. I live there now, there are gardens, loggie etc. Also he has granted me the administration of la fabbrica di San Pietro which yields great profits, amounting to a sum of 300 ducats yearly, nay, more still it is said. Finally the Pope has granted me a yearly pension of 400 papal gold ducats which are to be paid by Cardinal Santa Maria in Portico (4) against a simple receipt by my hand when I so desire and in the manner which I choose. I have already taken 150 in advance, and the said Cardinal tells me from the Pope that this provision is for ordinary expenses and that I need not adhere to the very letter but (know that) the more I want, the more I shall also get. I have only to ask and try to live and make myself easy, because it is the wish of the Pope that I shall lengthen my days as long as possible. I have from his own mouth three or four times heard almost the same and even more generously expressed. At the same time I received two good mules, a barrel of good red wine and another of good white wine' (The rest of the letter treats of books which Aldus had published for Fra Giocondo.

(4) *Cardinal Bibiena*





fixed up I shall act according to your wishes And listen now if Francesco Buffa (1) finds a match for me then have I also found one here I have met here in Rome a beautiful young girl of the best reputation, both she and her family according to what I hear She has a dowry of 3000 gold guilders, and 100 guilders are of more value in Rome than 200 in Urbino, rest assured of that

(1) Probably the same with whom Raphael had business in 1507 Müntz, *Les historiens* 1883, 130

As to my staying at Rome, I cannot for some time to come be elsewhere in consideration of la fabbrica di Santo Pedro which is the first temple on earth and the greatest building ever seen, as it will cost more than one million in gold The Pope has, you must know, given order that 60000 ducats are to be expended yearly on this building, and he does not think of anything else He has given me for colleague a very learned brother who is over 80 years old, and the Pope can see that he has not long to live, but his Holiness has resolved to give him to me for colleague because he is a man of great reputation and much experience, so that I can learn of him if he has some beautiful hidden knowledge of architecture, in order that I can become perfect in this art His name is Fra Giocondo And each day the Pope calls us to him and he converses often with us about the building

I pray you to go to the Duke and Duchess and tell them this, because I know that it will be agreeable for them to hear that one of their servitors does them honour, and commend me to their Graces as I often commend myself to them Salute all friends and relations from me, especially Ridolfo who always has much love for me 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1514'

This impulsive letter which was probably preserved (through the court of Urbino?) because it was so full of interest, speaks of two important circumstances in Raphael's life his engagement to Maria Bibiena and his appointment as architect of St Peter's Concerning the first question not much can be made out of Raphael's feelings by the manner in which he writes about such questions, especially when other proposals were under consideration, he prefers to choose a jocular form but need not therefore be indifferent towards the young girl herself.

Maria Bibiena seems to have been very young, her father Antonio was a nephew of Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibiena who was born in 1470 Perhaps the engagement was conditioned upon the marriage being postponed for some years as was the case when the 14 year old Elisabetta Gonzaga was betrothed to Guidobaldo of Urbino, or when the 16 year old Johanna of Aragon was betrothed to Ascanio Colonna Nothing more is known of this, nor about Maria Bibiena's family circumstances, except that her father owned a house near Piazza Navona (2) But from Pietro Bembo's letters (1516) we learn that Cardinal Bibiena loved Raphael very much 'Your own Raffaello', 'Raffaello whom you love so dearly' (3) They must have known each other from Urbino in Duke Guidobaldo's time where Bibiena, Bembo, Castiglione, Bernardo Accolti and many others met, they are all mentioned in Castiglione's 'Il cortegiano' Bibiena was very keen and clear minded and author of a celebrated comedy 'la Calandra' He was false in politics as was Leo X, but towards his friends he possessed great heartiness and artlessness, for example towards Baldessare Castiglione, who in August 1520 lost

(2) *Il Buonarroti* I, 1863, p 20

(3) *Doc. XXIV*, see also *doc. XXXIII*



are dated from this year by payments in June 1515 and December 1516 (1) Four of these seem to have been composed by Raphael himself and belong to his most remarkable works. (1) *Doc XX.*

From the papal secretary Pietro Bembo's correspondence with Cardinal Bibiena 1516 and 1517, some portraits are mentioned and studies of Raphael in ancient architecture (2). '3<sup>d</sup> of April 1516 — — Together with Navagiero, Beazzano, M(esser) Baldassare Castiglione and Raffaello, I shall go to-morrow to Tivoli which I have not seen for 27 years, and we shall see both the old and the new and what there is otherwise of beauty in the vicinity' This must be an allusion to the ruins of the villa of Hadrian, known as such in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and of which well preserved parts still stood (3) It is said that Navagiero in his letters and in his 'Viaggio in Spagna' mentions studies of the Roman empire together with Raphael and Bembo (4) (2) *Doc XXIV*

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of April Bembo praises a portrait which Raphael had painted of the surgeon and poet Antonio Tebaldeo 'he does not resemble himself as much as he does in this painting — — In comparison with it, the portraits of M(esser) Baldessare Castiglione and of the good and ever memorable Duke whom God give eternal bliss (5), seem, as regard the likeness, to have been painted by one of Raffaello's pupils I become quite envious and also think of having my portrait painted one day But just as I am sitting here, Raffaello comes in by chance as if he knew I wrote of him and he asks me to add the few words that he would like to have the titles for the other pictures to be painted in your bathroom (6), as the painting of the titles you have sent him will be ready this week And now you must not think that I am jesting, but by God, by chance also the selfsame M(esser) Baldessare comes in and says that I must write to you that he has determined to stay in Rome this Summer' On the 25<sup>th</sup> of April Bembo asks the Cardinal to give him a small antique figure of Venus which Raphael was to have placed in the bathroom, but for which there was no room 'Raffaello whom you love so highly says that he puts in a good word for me to you — — I do not think that you will put your own Raffaello to shame' The letter gives interesting details of the financial difficulties of Leo X

(3) *Winnefeld, Villa des Hadrians bei Tivoli, 1895, p 2*

(4) *J Cartwright, B Castiglione II, 275*

(5) *Giuliano de' Medici Leo X's brother who died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1516*

(6) *Bibiens's apartment in the Vatican was being repaired after a fire on the 22<sup>th</sup> of December 1515 — Sanuto, Diarii XIX, 336, — and the pupils of Raphael were decorating the new bathroom in antique style.*

At this period Duchess Elisabetta was in Rome to support her nephew the young Francesco Maria whom Leo X wanted to expel from Urbino in favour of Lorenzo de' Medici She did not succeed Leo pursued his sinister design Francesco Maria and the two Duchesses had to fly precipitately. In their need they had to sell some of their valuables and on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1516 their assistant, Benedetto Caviluppi, writes to Elisabetta's sister-in-law Isabella d'Este 'The Duchess said yesterday to me that it was necessary to melt some silver objects to obtain money, and amongst these are two bowls with bronze handles of very beautiful workmanship drawn by Raffaello in antique style The bowls are oval and gilded and the Duchess says that they would please your Excellency They ask if your Excellency would be inclined to give them money or silver objects instead as they would very much like to effect an exchange with these bowls, merely in order that such beautiful work should not be destroyed (7)' — To Raphael this occurrence must have been very painful, and this was confirmed by his friends (8) Whilst

(7) *Doc. IX.*

(8) *Doc XXXIII*



with some cartoons (by Penni) of one of the pictures in the Stanza del incendio, with the cartoon of 'St Michael' for Francis I and with the already mentioned cartoon for the portrait of Jane of Aragon, which Raphael admitted to be work of his pupil. But this did not suffice for the Duke, he wanted drastic measures to be taken and his confidential man, Pauluzzi, was commissioned to keep Raphael under formal supervision. But Pauluzzi adds to his reply, 'one gets on better with kindness, high-spirited men such as Raffaello are always melancholy, and Raffaello so much more as he has taken over the whole architecture after Bramante and wishes to relieve of the practical part Giuliano Leno(1). I found him this morning about to order the erection of two supporting pillars which the Pope desires to build to shore up the vault in the street of the Swiss which threatens to collapse. When I announced myself he asked me to wait till he had spoken with several workmen, but added that he would receive me if I would come up to him.' This was on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Dec 1519. Some months previously Raphael had refused to receive him. In a letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of Sept Pauluzzi said 'When I went one evening again to Raffaello's house, I found the door open, and I went in, being now certain of seeing what I wished, but when I announced myself to Raffaello he answered that he could not come down. When I nevertheless decided to go up, another servitor came and said that Raphael was in his room with M(esser) Baldassar di Castiglione about to paint his portrait and that no one could talk with him. I pretended to believe it, and said that I should come again another time.'

(1) Frey, *Zur Baugesch* p 5. As Leno was one of the *magistri pecuniarum*, this perhaps refers to the administrative part of the work.

In a letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1519, Pauluzzi describes vividly a theatrical performance in the Vatican for which Raphael had painted the decorations. Raphael must have interested himself in this task, for in February of the same year he confided to the Duke's second agent Monsignore Costabile that in the last three months he had learned more perspective than in the whole of his life before. Perhaps this meant, plastic perspective as it was subsequently known from Palladio's theatre in Vicenza and from 'Teatro Farnese' in Parma and from the little theatre of Sabbioneta close to Mantova. Count Castiglione describes in a letter to Ludovico Canossa (undated) a performance of Bibiena's 'Calandra' at Urbino for which was built a scene with a temple in stucco(2).

— Concerning the persons and circumstances mentioned in Pauluzzi's letter, we must first know that the performance was given by a son of Leo X's sister Maddalena de' Medici, Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo, who like Cardinal Bibiena, lived in the Vatican as *cardinalis palatinus*. The performance was called 'The exchanged' (i suppositi) a comedy by Ariosto, Alfonso of Ferrara's court poet. Cardinal Bibiena likewise in the Winter of 1515(3) had his own comedy performed 'la Calandra' in honour of Isabella d'Este, to this comedy the Papal Nuntius (Francesco Spinola) alludes in some poetical introductory words which can only be understood when we know that 'Mantova' means Isabella d'Este etc.

(2) *Opere ed Volpi* 1733, p 303

(3) Luzzo in *Archivio storico Lombardo* 1906, p 468-74

„I have been to the comedy on Sunday evening. Monsignore de' Rangoni gave me access to Cardinal Cibo's antichamber where the Pope was with his young(4) and his most reverent Cardinals. His Holiness was walking up and down and let the people come in as it suited him.

(4) *nominated in 1517*



erroneous expressions This saint has the remarkable and in reality rare peculiarity that he disdains money to such a degree that he refuses it when one offers it to him unless extreme need forces him Moreover he gets from the Pope a monthly supply which he divides with his friends and relations He nourishes himself with herbs and salad as did the Pythagorians, and he lives in a hole which might suitably be termed the barrel of Diogenes He expires much sooner over his studies than he devotes himself to them to die is just the word, for this old man of 80 years has got a severe and dangerous illness He is being nursed as a child by the very rich Raffaello da Urbino, a young man of the greatest kindness and of admirable intellect, highly esteemed by the Pope He distinguishes himself by his great skill Thus he is perhaps the most eminent of all painters in theory and practice and such a talented architect that he discovers things which the greatest intellects would consider impossible I except here alone Vitruvius because he not only preaches his principles, but attacks or defends them with the surest proofs and in such a gracious manner that all envy is excluded from the criticism For the moment he is producing an admirable work, inconceivable for the ages to come, I do not refer to the basilica of the Vatican, the erection of which he supervises, but of the town of Rome itself which he almost reconstructs in its ancient grandeur, removing the highest heaps of earth and digging down to the deepest foundations and restoring things according to the description of the ancients He has thus in a high degree transported Pope Leo and all the Romans to admiration so that nearly all people regard him as a God sent from heaven to restore to the eternal city its ancient majesty He is withal free from vanity, he is friendly towards every one and does not avoid any one's words or remarks, no one more than himself loves to discuss his own point of view so that he can become learned or teach others He honours and respects Fabius as a master and father and talks with him about everything and listens to his counsel'

In spite of all its exaggerative expressions, this letter gives a fine and certainly a true impression of Raphael's personality and of his burning interest for science Bishop Paolo Giovio later rendered the same characterization of Raphael saying *mira docilis ingenii suavitate atque solertia* (in his docile genius, suavity and ability)(1) And Calvo himself certified that he lived with Raphael in order to translate Vitruvius, the translation to be found in the Hofbibliothek in München, Codex Italicus 37, concludes with the words '— — tradocto di Latino in lingua et sermone proprio et volgare da Marco Fabio Calvo ravenate in Roma in casa di Raffaello de Giovanni di Sancte da Urbino et a sua istantia'

(1) *Raphaelis Urbinalis Vita, see anecdotes etc. V*

It is not easy to form an idea of the object of Raphael's archaeological work It appears that with his excavations he desired first of all to clear up the fundamental in the composition and topography of the buildings, and then to endeavour to reconstruct the individual quarters of ancient Rome (regions), whether actually or only in drawings According to Calcagnini's words the former would be the case and this is confirmed by reading the decree of the Roman senate of the





and severely punish the guilty when such were found' In the memorial an allusion is made to a devastation 'in these days' of foro Transitorio, aiming, it seems, at the affair of a marble digger Franceschini This man who was in the service of Cardinal Trivulzio was sent to prison because he had excavated the foundations of an arch from foro Transitorio, but the Cardinal compelled his release Thus the senate resolved on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1520 to send a deputation to Leo X 'That the good Prince would protect the works of art of his city from certain Goths and Vandals who devastated them and watch carefully over them' But Leo X held with the Cardinal and Franceschini This affair, which probably was of long duration, consequently seems to have begun during the period when the memorial was written. — While probably we have a 'terminus ante quem' in this affair and in the decree of the senate of the 10<sup>th</sup> of March 1520, we find a 'terminus post quem' in the words of the memorial to the Pope as 'peace-maker between Christian sovereigns', an allusion to the politics of Leo X after the peace between Henry VIII and Francis I (October 1518) and before the rupture with Francis I (1521)

From the text it is evident that the so-called memorial is the preface of a work on the Roman ruins For in the conclusion, after the minute description of the method of measurement, can be read 'This way we have followed and have adhered to, as will be seen in the course of his work' And as to the object of the work the beginning runs — — 'Your Holiness has charged me to draw ancient Rome as far as can be recognized from what can still be seen to-day of the edifices partly preserved, and scientifically to reduce them to their former appearance as they stood, and to reconstruct the parts which are in total ruin or which no more can be seen, in accordance with those which are standing and can be seen' — In Michiel's letter it is said that Raphael before his death had finished the measurements of the first region These drawings are not preserved Even without them Raphael's method was of fundamental importance in scientific archaeology to come<sup>(1)</sup> and the strength and warmth of the memorial gives in itself one of the best reminiscences of his person — There is no doubt that Raphael over-exerted himself and his death was due to a fever which he had brought on himself during the excavations This is known from the poem of Castiglione mentioned by Vasari But death came unexpectedly, both to himself and others On the 24<sup>th</sup> of March he thought so little of such a possibility that he concluded the renting of a building site close to the new main street along the Tiber, Via Giulia, with obligation to build upon it within a given time<sup>(2)</sup> All considered him to be a young vigorous man of whom one might still expect the greatest possibilities, Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola thought that he was 33 years old<sup>(3)</sup>, Marc Antonio Michiel that he was 34<sup>(4)</sup> The expressions 'integer' and 'sospes' in the inscription of the tomb both indicate health, so much greater was the sorrow especially for Castiglione who was so closely connected with Raphael, he writes to his mother 'I am myself well, but I feel as if I was no more in Rome now that my poor Raphael is gone'<sup>(5)</sup>

As to Raphael's death and testamentary dispositions further details

(1) Jac. Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* 1877, I, 231

(2) Müntz, *Les historiens et les critiques de Raphaël* p 135, Doc. XLIII

(3) Letter to Isabella d'Este 15 April 1520, Campori, *Notizie*, cf. V, 307

(4) 11 April 1520 *Notizia d'opere scritte da un Anonimo*, 1800, p 210 Doc. XLIV

(5) *Lettere del Conte Baldassare di Castiglione ed Scarsa, Padova*, 1767, II, 74



posed by Marc Antonio Michiel. Of his dispositions of gifts to other persons and for the chapel in the Pantheon etc., it can be proved that from the estate a house was bought for 1000 ducats, the income thereof being used for the service of the altar while Raphael's cousin Girolamo Vagnini was to be the first curate (1). Further Raphael's pupils, Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano undertook to finish 'The transfiguration' for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and 'The coronation of the Madonna' for the nuns of Monteluca near Perugia, the payment, for the first picture at least, went to the estate, Baldassare da Pescia (1526) giving a receipt for the sum (2), Giulio Romano tried (1522) by the aid of Count Castiglione to get a sum (224 ducats) paid to him for his sister as dowry and in this was successful (3). All what otherwise is supposed to be known as to Raphael's testamentary dispositions proceeds from Vasari (4).

(1) *Visconti*,  
I c

(2) *Dokument*  
in *Archivio di*  
*Stato of Flo-*  
*rence, Müntz,*  
*Raphael*,  
p 578 n 1

(3) *Bottari*,  
*Raccolta di*  
*lettere IV, 3,*  
*Passavant II,*  
292

(4) *Opere IV*,  
382

The beautiful inscriptions on the tombs of Raphael and Maria Bibiena in the Pantheon (5) are as follows, the names being translated from Latin into Italian

TO RAFAELLO DI GIOVANNI DI SANCTE DA URBINO  
THE EMINENT PAINTER THE RIVAL OF THE ANCIENTS  
WHOSE PICTURES ALMOST SEEM TO BREATHE WHEN  
CONTEMPLATED, THE UNION OF NATURE AND ART  
BEING EASILY ACKNOWLEDGED IN THEM  
HE ENHANCED THE GLORY OF THE POPES JULIUS II  
AND LEO X  
WITH HIS WORKS IN PAINTING AND ARCHITECTURE  
HE LIVED IN HEALTH, FULFILLING XXXVII YEARS  
FOR HE DIED ON HIS BIRTHDAY  
VI APRIL M D XX

HERE IS GREAT RAPHAEL, NATURE FEARED TO BE VANQUISHED  
WHILST HE WAS STRONG, AND AT HIS DEATH TO DIE

TO MARIA BIBIENA ANTONIO'S DAUGHTER HIS BRIDE  
WHO THROUGH DEATH HASTENED IN ADVANCE OF THE GLAD  
BRIDAL SONGS AND WAS BURIED AS VIRGIN BEFORE THE  
BRIDAL TORCHES WERE LIGHTED  
BALDASSARE TURINI DA PESCIA LEO X'S DATARIO  
AND GIOVANNI BATTISTA BRANCONIO D'AQUILA CHAMBERLAIN  
ERECTED (THIS MEMORIAL) ACCORDING TO THE TESTAMENT  
OF THE BLESSED DECEASED  
WHILE GIROLAMO VAGNINI DA URBINO RAPHAEL'S RELATION  
PROVIDED AND INCREASED THE GIFT OF THIS ALTAR  
WITH HIS OWN MEANS

Posterity became acquainted with another love affair which neither Vasari nor subsequent chroniclers knew of. On a sketch of 'la disputa', thus probably dating from the year 1510, are found five sonnets partly in different editions, burning, passionate and yet bearing the stamp of a certain resignation. They seem to have been written to a lady of high birth, since Raphael in many ways designated himself as her subject and in one of the concluding lines calls on 'the heavenly geniuses' for help 'to disdain splendour and to avoid courts (1)'. Herman Grimm thought that these sonnets were addressed to the young Duchess of Urbino Eleonora Gonzaga (2), this, however, is improbable as her husband, Francesco Maria della Rovere, was very much in love with her. We might sooner think of the Dowager Duchess Elisabetta whom also Castiglione devotedly worshiped, she was Raphael's protectress from his youth and during an incidental encounter may well have given in to his passionate desire, perhaps while staying at Rome together with the young Ducal pair in the spring of 1510.

(1) *edietrice e regni*

(2) *Leben Raphaels p. 365*

The poetical technique of the sonnets especially regarded in the light of Petrarca's lyric with which Raphael was thoroughly acquainted, will be discussed in the documents of the biography. In the Italian original the conventional rhyme frequently plays a significant rôle, Raphael wrote this rhyme even before he composed the verses — as shown in many of the rough draughts —, thus the resultant expressions which sometimes are not necessary for the train of thought are here partly omitted.

In their manly erotic tone these sonnets resemble some emotional, but platonic sonnets by Count Castiglione to the Dowager Duchess Elisabetta from 1517 (3) — As to the sequence of the sonnets it may merely be said that the 2<sup>nd</sup> sonnet is written before the 3<sup>rd</sup>, as its fair copy is found together with the rough draught of the 3<sup>rd</sup>. The 5<sup>th</sup> may certainly also be regarded as the last sonnet. The translation is literal but not rhythmical and not in rhyme.

(3) see doc. XXVII

# I

A sweet thought is to remember the manner  
of this assault, but so much heavier the loss  
by the departure, when I remained alone, as they who have  
on sea lost the star, if I hear truly  
Now tongue to speak loose the knot  
to tell of this unused deceit  
which Amor to me did, to my grave sorrow  
But him for this I thank and her I praise  
The sixth hour it was, one sun  
was gone down, another stood up in its stead  
created more for action than for words  
But I was wholly vanquished by my glow  
which tortures me for there where man is wont  
to wish to speak, he remains yet more mute

## II

Amor, you have lured me in the net with two beautiful lights  
 from two beautiful eyes wherein I melt, and splendour  
 of white snow and of living roses,  
 of a fine speech and a genteel woman's being  
 So strongly I burn, that neither sea nor floods  
 can quench my fire, but it displeases me not,  
 for my burning does me so much good  
 that burning more than any other I consume myself  
 How sweet was the yoke and the chain  
 of thy white arms around my neck,  
 to tear myself away I felt deathly pain  
 Of other things I speak not which were done  
 as too great sorrow leads to death,  
 therefore I am silent and turn my thoughts on thee

## III

As Paul could not speak of God's mysteries,  
 when he was come down from heaven  
 thus has my heart with a veil of love  
 shrouded all my thoughts  
 Therefore how much I saw and how much I did  
 in gladness I conceal so that I hide it in my breast,  
 first shall be changed the hair on my forehead  
 than I ever break my promise with guilty mind  
 And if this high soul bends itself down to my low station,  
 it will see that it does not do it for me, but for my great fire  
 which exceeds all others in its glow  
 But let it think that my spirit little by little  
 will desert the body if thy compassion  
 does not give it help at the right time and place

## IV

If I seem to disdain to serve you, Amor,  
 with such feelings shown by me here and there  
 you know the reason without my writing it on paper  
 what sorrow tightens a wounded heart  
 (first rough draught that I showed the contrary of my heart)  
 I cry out and say that you are my lord  
 from the (earth's) centre to heaven, higher than Jupiter and Mars,  
 and that no shelter avails, nor wisdom nor art either  
 to turn away thy force and thy fury  
 And that she who outshines the sun with her light,

—

—

— —

—

—

Deceitful thought why torture thyself in searching?  
where to give the heart in prey for greater peace?  
See you not the hard and tenacious effects  
engraved, robbing my most beauteous years?  
Hard exertions and cares for fame  
away thought which rests in idleness!  
Show it the elevated path which makes it  
to mount from the low to the highest footstep'

— —  
—  
—

Find out for me heavenly sharpwitted genn  
a healing bark with whips and stones  
disdaining splendour and avoiding courts

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## PORTRAITS OF RAPHAEL AND OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS

THE impression formed of Raphael's exterior by posterity is connected with the so-called portrait of himself in the Uffizi collection of artists painted by themselves, this picture originates from the Ducal collection of Urbino and came to Florence in 1631 (1) In all probability it is merely painted after an early drawing and cannot lay claim to authenticity, it has repeatedly been restored It ought at least to be seen that Raphael had a cleft chin, but even this feature is obliterated — Neither can we reckon with the portrait of himself in 'The school of Athens' which shows Raphael in more advanced years, more especially in its present state after Maratta's restoration (about 1700)

(1) Gotti, *Le gallerie e i musei di Firenze*, 1875 p. 383, compare *Ridolfo in Archivio storico dell'Arte IV*, 1891 p. 426

When Raphael was appointed architect of St Peter's (1514) he probably wore a full-beard as craved by custom and had, as other portraits show a more robust exterior He can be seen thus in a double portrait at the Louvre which from former times was entitled 'Raphael and his fencing-master', this portrait originates from the Fontainebleau collection (in the name of Pontormo) and before that from Cardinal Granvella's collection (in the name of Pordenone) A drawing after this painting is to be found opposite the title page of this book The picture which in its design is Raphaelesque is of excellent composition, the person in the background, who must be the artist himself, has very clear-cut features though the face is somewhat full This portrait can be verified by means of a contemporary copy of the head Here we refer to Giulio Bonasone's copperplate (Bartsch 347), which in a detailed title precisely indicates it as having been engraved after a portrait, the title translated literally runs as follows

'Raffaello Santi da Urbino's the excellent painter's in heaven received image has Giulio Bonasone da Bologna engraved after a painting

Passavant (2) who saw clearly that the picture in the Louvre represented Raphael, but who did not observe that the engraving of Bonasone was a copy of it also speaks of some portraits painted from memory by the hand of Giulio Romano, likewise with the bearded type, and Eug. Müntz added a medal in 'Promptuaire des médailles des plus renommées personnes etc' Lyon 1581, II, 211 (3), but rejected the Louvre painting as being a portrait of Raphael

(2) *Raphaël d'Urbino II*, 355

Whereas the engraving of Bonasone proves that the picture represents Raphael, the cranium shows its positive trustworthiness

(3) *Les historiens et les critiques de Raphaël* p. 24, reproduction p. 14

The artist-club 'Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon' obtained permission in 1833 to open Raphael's grave The German painter Philip Veit who was present at the exhumation has given a description thereof (4) After searching for some time the grave consisting of a brick arch closed to the front by a wall, was found beneath the altar of Madonna del Sasso (Sanzio's) Raphael's skeleton was discovered well preserved in a hollow of mortar which originally had enclosed a now mouldered coffin of pitch-pine, the impress being visible The body had been enveloped in a cloth with many small rings which alone remained The skeleton

(4) *Passavant I* 535 and following *Memorie del ritrovamento delle ossa di Raffaello*, Roma 1883, with literature, and reproductions of the cranium also in *Nel centenario di R da Urb.*, Roma 1883



measured  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Roman palms (about 167 cm) and the cranium was very well preserved, still with all the teeth intact, the cavity of the skull was rather small, the characteristics almost feminine. One cast of the cranium was made for the 'congregazione' and is now to be found in their assembly room in the Pantheon and a copy of it is to be found at Urbino in the house where Raphael was born. It has been studied after casts or reproductions by the anthropologists Carus (1), Schaaffhausen (2) and Welcker (3). Welcker expresses himself in favour of the correctness of the Louvre portrait, yet only on the basis of the engraving.

(1) *Symbolik der menschlichen Gestalt*, Leipz 1853, reproduction 22-23 p 139

(2) *Der Schädel Raphaels*, Bonn 1883

(3) *Archive f Anthropologie* XV, 1884, p 417

A comparison between the cranium and the Louvre portrait is still more convincing: the form of the forehead, temple and bridge of the nose are the same as in the portrait, the obliquity of the eyes being due to the declivity of the cranium and the large row of well formed teeth making the mouth somewhat prominent. There is also a peculiar regularity in the rounded surface of the cranium corresponding to the calm expression of the face.

The Louvre portrait must thus be considered as the only authentic and resembling portrait of Raphael.

Who is 'The fencing-master'? And why does he bear arms? Is he a nobleman? In that case Count Castiglione is the first to be considered. But his celebrated so-called portrait in the Louvre shows a man of a somewhat different type and Castiglione's exterior was founded by tradition on this portrait. 'The fencing-master' resembles probably less than Raphael himself, the whole figure being more heroized and besides much painted over, e.g. the hair, but both the mouth, nose, eyes, eyebrows and line of hairgrowth are quite characteristic and the relation of the bridge of the nose to the forehead is especially very distinct: the forehead receding, the eyes small, brilliant and somewhat mongolian. Such a profile is known from medals representing Castiglione, one in the collection Trivulzio at Milano, according to Beffa Negrini this medal is said to have been drawn by Raphael (4). On these medals the nose is also quite finely curved, the forehead receding. This cannot be said to be the case in Castiglione's so-called portrait in the Louvre which has a nose of uneven lines and a projecting forehead, incorrectly drawn, for according to the position of the eyes, the nose should have been turned more to the left. On the contrary we find this type with the slightly curved nose and the receding forehead on Raffaellino del Colle's fresco of 'The donation of Constantine' in Sala di Costantino in the Vatican, where Castiglione's portrait, according to Vasari, is to be seen among the poets as the very dark person in the group behind the Pope to the left (5). A portrait of this type painted by Titian, and signed at a later period COMES BALDASSAR CASTILIONIVS was found in the late Lane collection (6); this painting is especially interesting for comparison with 'The fencing-master', for Titian's portraits seem to have great photographic resemblance. — (A portrait of Castiglione painted by Parmegianino? (1524?) in the Marquis of Lansdowne's collection at Bowood is unknown to us) (7).

(4) Lilla, *Famiglie celebri* See note 7

(5) *Vita di Giulio Romano Opere ed. Milanese* I, 331

(6) *The Connoisseur* XLIV, 1916 p 63

(7) *Cartwright II Castiglione* II 431

'Raphael and his fencing-master' reminds one of a similar group in 'The transfiguration' and the conclusion might be come to that the picture had been painted at about that time and was perhaps identical

with the portrait of Castiglione which Raphael was painting that evening in September 1519. when Pauluzzi in vain attempted to gain admittance to his house (1). but the costumes originate rather from the period of Heliodorus thus the picture might be older. the motive with the pointing hand is already to be found in 'The Parnassus'

(1) *Doc. XLIII*

Vasari stated that a portrait of Bramante was to be found (2) in 'The school of Athens' as the figure of Archimedes bending down and measuring on the slate with his compass: but this personage who is absolutely bald cannot be Bramante who had curly hair, as shown on Caradosso's well-known medal (1506) It is consequently remarkable that no one thought of identifying Bramante with the older man who on the same painting accompanies Raphael especially as Vasari insisted that Bramante had composed the architecture for him' This portrait of the somewhat older and feeble looking man might well fit in with the features on Caradosso's medal especially as the picture was painted some years later. and Bramante, who suffered from rheumatism, was perhaps already then in a delicate state of health. The third person in the group might be Jacopo Sadoleto who had a square-cut long-nosed head and a long beard

(2) *Opere ed  
Milanesi, IV  
331*

Of Cardinal Bibiena Raphael's protector, Vasari stated that there was a portrait on Giulio Romano's fresco of 'The battle of Ostia', one of the two Cardinals behind the Pope: Vasari in his 'Ragionamenti' likewise mentions a portrait of the Cardinal in Palazzo Dovizi at Bibiena after which he himself painted the portrait of the Cardinal on a fresco in Palazzo Vecchio This portrait seems to be identical with a painting in Palazzo Pitti of which there existed a replica in Paolo Giovio's portrait collection at Como These portraits show the Cardinal with a large aquiline nose and fine features He seems to have been a very good looking man

All these paintings however, are the work of pupils and scarcely of significance, already Rumohr rejected the picture in the Pitti as not being authentic (3) Nevertheless Raphael must certainly have painted Bibiena himself and it is quite probable that the beautiful portrait of a cardinal in Madrid represents this prelate, especially as there is actually a great resemblance between it and Giulio Romano's aforementioned portrait

(3) *Ital For-  
schungen III  
1831 138*

Passavant thought that the painting in Madrid was the original for the portrait in Palazzo Pitti (4) This was a misconception proved long ago by means of photographic comparisons, but it is not logical from this to draw the conclusion that the portrait in Madrid must represent another person than Bibiena, for the quality of the two pictures varies greatly, likewise the mode of representation, so that great deviations are feasible Besides this a resemblance to the Madrid portrait certainly exists in Giulio Romano's portrait The chronological order of the pictures would be as follows: the Madrid portrait 1513 painted by Raphael directly after Bibiena's elevation to the cardinalate (at an age of 43 years): Giulio Romano's portrait painted about 1515: the Palazzo Pitti portrait painted by Penni shortly before Bibiena's death 1520. Any certain proof for this statement cannot be given, but it is certain that Raphael's portrait of the Cardinal in the whole of its impress of delicacy and humour answers to our idea of Bernardo Dovizi, 'il bel Bernardo'.

(4) *Raphael  
in Urb. II 143*

Divers hypotheses have been advanced concerning the Madrid portrait. Müntz and Gronau thought that it represented Cardinal Alidosi († 1511), Durrer, in an interesting article, said that it must be the portrait of Julius II's celebrated Swiss general, Cardinal Schinner (1), of whom there was a similar profile portrait in Paolo Giovio's collection at Como. This might easily be imagined, Raphael could well have painted Cardinal Schinner when painting the Swiss in 'The mass of Bolsena', but Schinner's medal portrait shows a totally different type, undeniably more in keeping with the physiognomy of the man of trust of Julius II. One of the young cardinals from 1517 was also thought of (2) but the picture can scarcely have been painted as late as that, as Raphael, at that period, certainly did not touch a brush.

Among the portraits from Raphael's Roman period Vasari especially praises the one of 'la sua donna' belonging to Matteo Botti at Florence which in all probability is identical with 'la donna velata' in Palazzo Pitti. This anonymous female portrait which popular tradition considers as being 'the model' for 'The Sixtine Madonna' and like this picture is wrongly dated to about 1516 has naturally greatly occupied art critics who, following Vasari's indications, aver that the picture represents Raphael's sweetheart, calling it 'The true Fornarina' (3) in contrast to the portrait of a naked courtesane in Palazzo Barberini which bears this legendary name since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but which now no longer is considered as having been painted by Raphael. Thus the problem to solve was whether the two portraits represented the same person, as justly doubted by Gronau (4).

If tradition be true — and this the whole of the intimate character of the picture suggests — only one particular woman may then be imagined whom Raphael after 1514 would call his donna, viz the young Maria Bibiena. From the inscription on her tomb we can see that he loved her also after death and that he wished to be united with her in the grave. In the presence of this authentic document there can be no discussion as whom 'la donna velata' represents. We do not know if Raphael loved other women, but we know that he felt himself strongly attached to Maria Bibiena and honoured her memory in the most delicate manner. This remarkable portrait of a woman which seems originally to have been painted in a red dress (the bride's colour) but later changed to the light grey and golden harmony which is so picturesque, impresses one with a wonderful contrast of remoteness and stillness in the figure and expression and in the luxurious splendour of the dress framed in the somewhat unreal veil (5). It was thought that this contrast proceeded from a mood in the artist who desired to see his festively clad love with a Madonna veil, but it is far more probable that the fate of Maria Bibiena's life has successively lent to the picture its physiognomy, and that, in its present state, it is a portrait in memory of Maria Bibiena.

(1) *Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft* VI 1913, p. 1

(2) *Hymans, Burlington Magazine* Nov 1911 p. 89

(3) *Lanciani, The golden days of the Renaissance in Rome* p. 240

(4) *Raffaël*, p. 240

(5) *Alessandro Piccolomini, 1539, said that white is considered as being more becoming than red. E. Rodocanachi, La femme italienne à l'époque de la Renaissance* 1907, p. 163

## RAPHAEL'S COLLABORATORS

**R**APHAEL executed the first authenticated altarpiece (1501) at the age of 18 years in partnership with his father's assistant, Evangelista da Piandimileto, Vasari must have known something of this work of the two artists when he writes that Raphael departed from Perugia to Città di Castello 'con alcuni suoi amici'. Regarding any subsequent work in common nothing is known, only that in 1514 the two artists were admitted into the brotherhood of Corpus Christi at Urbino, at this period Evangelista took up his abode at Urbino and his name is often associated with that of Timoteo Viti's. He died in 1549 (1)

(1) *Literature*,  
see Venturi,  
*Storia dell'*  
*arte italiana*  
VII, 2, 188

Already at an early period Raphael must have become connected with Giovanni Francesco Penni, called il Fattore, who through the whole of his life was the leader in the workshop and set his stamp on all the work of the other pupils. Information as to this artist has hitherto been very meagre and there prevailed uncertainty respecting his significance. It was only known from Vasari that he was Raphael's collaborator for the cartoons of the tapestries (1515—16) and other subsequent work, that he in 1518 signed a clever but somewhat sombre copy of 'The entombment' (Turin) in his own name I F PENNI, and that he is mentioned in a document as 'Johannes Franciscus Baptistae phisici alias Factor' (2), but no one thought that his work was of much earlier date and that his surname of Fattore designated him as a man of trust, the foreman of the workshop.

(2) *Lanciani*,  
*Storia degli*  
*scavi di Roma*  
I, 1906, p. 199

We can here communicate an important document, thanks to the Dutch art historians P. C. van Stockum's and Fritz Lugt's investigations, at our initiative, namely Penni's portrait painted by himself which was sold by auction after the death of the Dutch king Willem II 1850, and which had disappeared since then. It has now been discovered in the Residenzschloss in Weimar. Its history can be traced back to Lucien Bonaparte's collection (engraved by Testa), but it seems that the picture is identical with a portrait in Galleria Borghese described by Manili (1650), although here it is called a small picture 'un giouane con un fiore in mano — — (e) di Raffaello' (3), it was still to be found there in 1727 'un giouane con un mazzo di fiore nelle mani di Raffaello' (4). Its attribution to Raphael was supported by the monogram R S, resembling Marco da Ravenna's engraving mark, added perhaps at an earlier period though the picture is evidently signed as portrait of the artist himself, by the address on the letter which the person represented holds: Dom<sup>o</sup> Frañco Penni Florentiam. No one can contradict the genuineness of this inscription, it fits in completely with the otherwise excellently preserved picture, but it is curious that the letter types have more the character of the 17<sup>th</sup> than of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. From the composition and costume we must date the portrait to the period of 1510, we can also compare, for example, the hands with those on pictures from that period, as of 'The Madonna di casa Alba' and of 'The Madonna Aldobrandini' which we likewise attribute to Penni. This portrait shows us the artist living in Florence as a man who thought of marrying, (the ring, orange-blossom), thus not a youth. Taking his age to be about 25 years, the period of

(3) *Villa Borg-*  
*hese, Roma*  
1650 p. 111

(4) *Descrizione*  
*di Roma mo-*  
*terna 1727*  
p. 497

his birth would be about 1485, i.e. that he was a contemporary of Raphael, a fact that until now was not thought of, Vasari maintaining that he had come to Raphael at Rome as a boy

Penni's work in the Roman period can first be pointed out in one of the smaller history of law pictures in the Camera della segnatura 'Gregory IX receiving the decretals' which, according to the portrait of Julius II with beard, can be dated after June 1511. Also the paintings of the ceiling must be attributed to him, they were probably executed at the termination of the decoration of the room, as the drawing of Raphael for 'The Poetry', which shows Raphael's share in the decoration, has the fully developed style ('Parnassus'). In the execution of the work 'The Poetry' became more stiff, thereby appearing more primitive. At about 1514 Penni painted the last of the frescos in Stanza d'Elodoro and the ceiling thereof, it shows his easy but superficial style. He is never mentioned as an independent artist, when any allusion is made of him e.g. in Bembo's letter about the portraits (1516) it is only as 'alievo'

Giulio Pepi, called Romano, was much younger, from the death annals at Mantova he was born in 1499 (after Vasari 1492). Vasari attributes to him several portraits and altar-pieces, for example the portrait of Jane of Aragon which Raphael acknowledged to have been drawn at Naples by a 'pupil' (1), Giulio Romano would hardly have concealed to Vasari during his visit to Mantova (1541) that he had been at Naples, Giulio must have worked, in this case, under the supervision of Penni, but Giulio did not wish to speak of Penni, as they had parted in the year 1528 as enemies. Giulio Romano was closely attached to Raphael and worked during Raphael's last years as his assistant at the measurements (Vasari). His picturesque style differs from that of Penni's by there being more life in the composition and more confusion in the details, he had no Umbrian tradition. The difference can be very clearly seen in the Stanza del' incendio (1514—1517) where 'The fire in the Borgo' is painted after Raphael's cartoon by Giulio, while 'The battle of Ostia' is painted after Giulio's own composition, the figures of the socle are also by him, but the two other historical pictures are by Penni. In 1514 Giulio was probably only 15 years old.

After Raphael's death Penni and Giulio Romano entered into partnership as 'gli allievi di Raffaello' and got, in spite of Michelangelo's and Sebastiano del Piombo's opposition, the work for the decoration of Sala di Costantino (1523—1524). After this Giulio went to Mantova in the suite of Count Castiglione whose friendship he had inherited from Raphael, while Penni sought his fortune elsewhere. After the sack of Rome (1527) Penni tried also to settle at Mantova (1528), but Giulio did not want to have him as competitor, and Penni shortly after had to depart (Vasari is here in agreement with the sources) (2). He had friends in Naples, perhaps already from the time when he had drawn the portrait of Jane of Aragon, he went there, but died. Vasari says that he was about 40 years old and that his last painting dated from 1528.

In the history of art, Giulio Romano had completely put the older disciple in the shade, perhaps because he understood better how to assert himself, but we must not conclude by this that he was originally

(1) *Doc. VXXVI*

(2) *J. Aric, II, 1908 p. 252*

the most important. On the contrary, it seems that Penni, in Raphael's lifetime, influenced the whole workshop with his dry style and that the other pupils were under his command. One of the collaborators from the latter period, Dosso Dossi's brother Battista Luteri — who is mentioned in connection with 'The transfiguration' (1) —, had been Penni's pupil (2). Many pupils of Raphael are mentioned, Vasari gives a whole

(1) *Doc. XLII*

(2) *Palzok, Die Villa Imperiale in Pesaro, 1907, p. 258*



list, but they, like Penni, went under the common denomination of 'alievi' or 'gargioni'. Giovanni da Udine, the renowned master in stucco seems to have worked for Raphael in the Loggie, but his position is not established. Tomaso Vincidore da Bologna was sent to Flanders with the cartoons of the tapestries, and in 1521 visited Dürer at Antwerp, Dürer mentions this in his diary of travels in the Netherlands (3). Perino del Vaga (Penni's brother-in-law), Pellegrino da Modena, Vincenzo da San Gimignano and Polidoro da Caravaggio, all of whom are named by Vasari in connection with the Loggie, cannot for the time being be identified as artists than before Raphael's death.

(3) *Doc. LV*

As assistant in S. Maria della Pace, Vasari mentions Timoteo Viti, but judging from the style, the critique opposes such a supposition, as the celebrated 'Sybils' undoubtedly are Giulio Romano's work under Penni's supervision. It would be easier to believe that Baldassare Peruzzi

and his brother occasionally have worked for Raphael. But to investigate thoroughly the circumstances in the workshop is at present not possible and moreover of minor significance as we have come to the conclusion that Penni, alias Fattore, was the adviser and possessed a predominant influence amongst them.

As architectonic collaborators Raphael had, in virtue of his position at the church of St Peter, the subordinate architects employed there, viz the brothers Sangallo, Antonio the younger and Giovan Francesco, and also Battista called Aristotele, his early friend. It seems that Giovan Francesco supervised the construction of Palazzo Pandolfini at Florence and Battista had designed for villa Madama (1). Moreover, Giulio Romano was his assistant, for Giulio had by degrees acquired great architectonic skill, and is mentioned as such also by Vasari no doubt from verbal report.

(1) See the catalogue of Raphael's architectonic works

(2) Doc. XXII

Among the assistants Vasari also reckoned Raphael's servitor 'il Baviera' whom Raphael employed to grind colour (and who probably undertook the purchase of paint and the like at Venice), it is possible that it was 'il Baviera' who in 1515, on Raphael's behalf, completed the purchase of a house (2) and whose real name was Baverio de' Carocci da Parma. Vasari says that he had the care of 'the woman whom Raphael loved till his death and of whom he painted the beautiful portrait', an inexplicable communication should it refer to Maria Bibiena, whose father was living. He likewise says that Baviera understood the printing of Marcantonio's engravings after Raphael's works. It seems that Raphael actually published these engravings at his own expense, Dürer writes in his diary 1521, that Raphael's 'ding' (works) were scattered after his death, but that he, through Tomaso Vincidore da Bologna, could get them from Rome by sending his own engravings; this seems to infer that Dürer had then to enter into communication with the dealer in works of art who had taken charge of the sale, whereas prior to Raphael's death he could have procured Marcantonio's engraving from Raphael's atelier (through Baviera).

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# THE WORKS OF RAPHAEL







## THE WORKS OF RAPHAEL IN THE UMBRIAN-FLORENTINE PERIOD

**I**N the studies for and the fragments of the altar-piece 'Nicholas of Tolentino's coronation' (1501), Raphael proves himself a perfect artist of Perugino's style, yet greater and milder than his master. Already in this work of the eighteen year old artist it was evident that his spirit of composition was much greater than any of the previous painters since Giotto and Masaccio and that he possessed a superiority in technic which could assist him in solving the most difficult problems. Actually the most beautiful of his manhood works, 'la disputa' and the 'Madonna di San Sisto' were prepared in the fragment of God

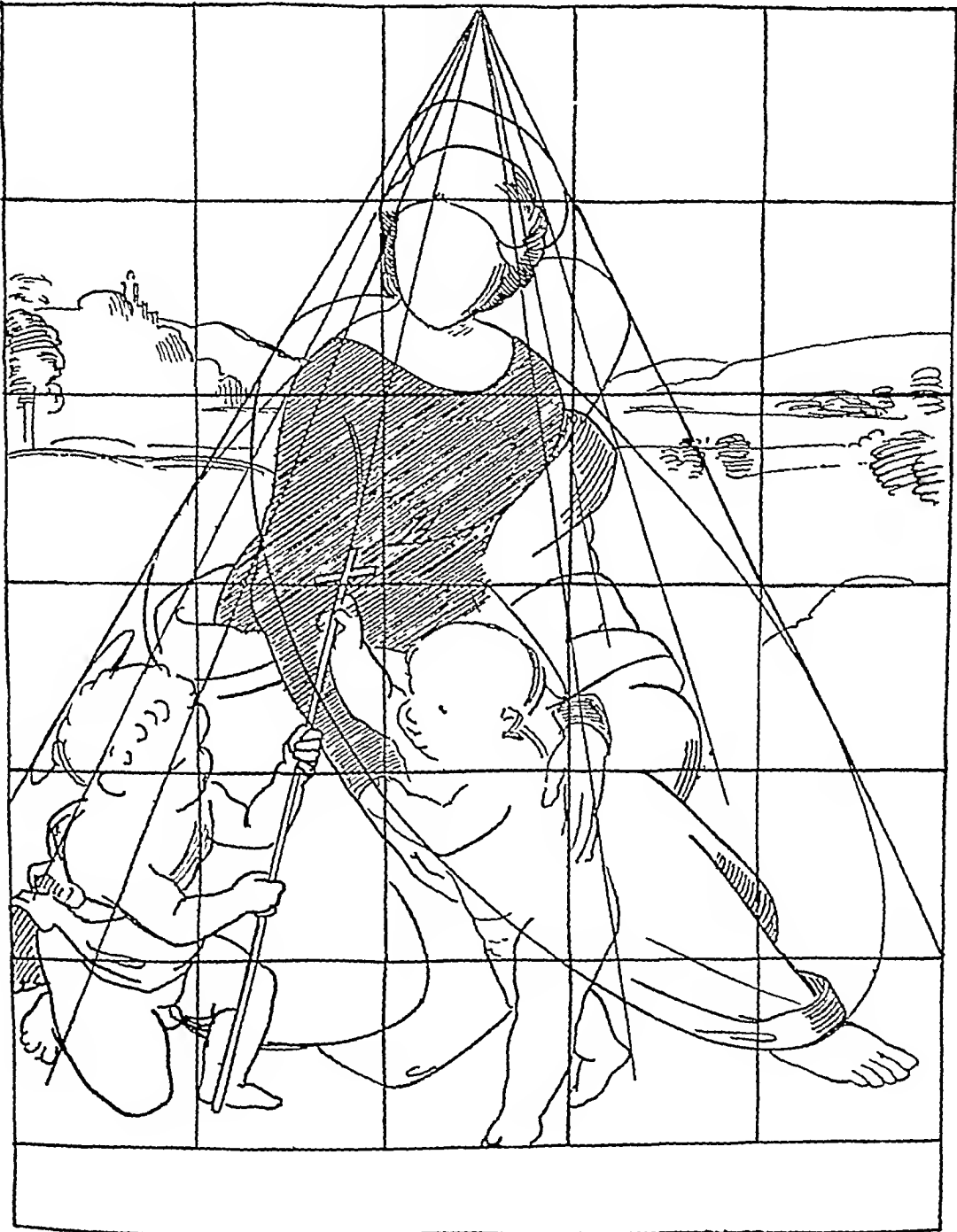
the Father in the mandorla, this gently poised figure which seems to feel the space surrounding it while holding the crown over the saints below and looking down through the ring of the crown, which by us, is seen in perspective. The silhouette of the figure gives two different



contrasts to the background, the one side being in the light, the other in the shade, the lines of an arch touch the inclined head, the angels look from above and from below. The figure is formed through this contrapuntal play of lines, the melodious motion is assembled in the centre, in the finely raised hands. The crown is in the centre of the mandorla, thus the harmony is complete, a geometrical harmony, but also picturesque and human — The studies for some of the figures below (1) are more naturalistic, but show the same remarkable airiness expressed in clair-obscur, in the contrasts of light against shade, the

(1) see plate I

very whiteness of the paper being as the space wherein the figures move. The studies of Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo did not possess this superiority. Raphael himself as painter was for a long time tied by the ideal of his age in the smooth and enamelled surface of the pictures, thus his paintings have a less picturesque effect than his drawings.



Not a few paintings of Umbrian and Florentine style in the museum of Berlin are wrongly attributed to Raphael, but 'Madonna Solly' is the vivid example of the first Perugino period. The Madonna seems to have been composed in a system of squares as was the custom of the age, but on the left, her lifted arm extends partly out of the system which is displaced to the right. In the construction of the picture there was thus a tension between the geometry of the group of figures and that of the surface of the picture, but this dissonance was dissolved in harmony as the Madonna bends her head, so that the centre of gravity is transferred to the axis of the picture, the halo dividing the distance to

the edge of the frame The squares effaced in the painted picture answer to the tension in the composition, the Madonna glances from a distance obliquely into the book, the child too glancing in the same direction



(1) see frontispiece p 1

In these early years Raphael painted the lovely picture of 'The dream of the knight' (1) and the great 'Coronation of the Madonna' (before 1503), but his artistic development cannot be observed until about 1505, when he painted the upper part of the fresco in San Severo at Perugia, which now is but a ruin as to the colouring, and 'die Jungfrau im Grünen' which together with 'Madonna Solly' are sole representatives of Raphael's name among all the other pictures of imitators

'Die Jungfrau im Grünen' is Raphael's most beautiful study in its

spacious geometrical composition. The Madonna group is painted in an invisible cone with slanting sections, showing as ellipses: the halo is one of these, the drapery of the upper part of the figure indicates the other, while the third touches the shoulder of the Madonna and encircles the drapery above the foot. The geometrical lines can be guessed in the finished painting, they give possibilities for the unity of what belongs to the composition, and show the plastic significance of the motives: the curves lending a perfect suppleness to the Madonna's figure. Raphael's intention was to show naturally how lines go round, showing also what is not visible. There is space behind the figures, and a spacious fullness in the landscape and the group of figures conjointly. A comparison of 'die Jungfrau im Grünen' with 'Madonna del cardellino' shows in detail the difference between Raphael and his assistant and imitator (Francesco Penni?)

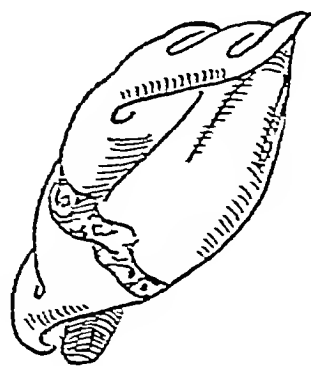
Another of the master-pieces from his early period 'Madonna di Casa Tempi' is composed from an idea of Donatello, but the characteristic drapery motive is already to be found in 'Madonna Solly', and the motive of the hands in 'Madonna del Granduca'. What Raphael learnt from Donatello was the direct harmony of the figures, how the mother holds the infant with an open and sensitive hand, how she touches its temple with her eye, and in the tender melting together of the profiles. It is genuine Donatello, but it is also Raphael, because he possessed the same feelings of humanity. He did not treat the motive inferiorly. In his hands it became just as fervent, but at the same time more monumental, especially in the motive of the splendid backward flowing drapery which sinks heavily under the motion. The Madonna moves forward whilst pressing the infant against her breast. This brings out a contrast between the bodies and the drapery, the drapery follows its own nature which at times compels it to tighten itself around the head and neck at other times to swell or open, the nature of the bodies on the contrary is merely to be ample and firm with convex outlines.

The theory of the individual nature of all things is not so well known now as it was in the middle age and the renaissance. Why does a fold of drapery often bulge in the middle? Leonardo da Vinci says, 'that



the part of the fold (b) which is the furthest from its point of tension (a, c) will strive the most to regain its original character. By nature everything wishes to retain its entity (this was the main issue in the philosophy of Aristoteles, adhered to by Leonardo): and as cloth has a uniform density and thickness both front and back it strives

to be flat. When forced by a fold or by contact with the earth to abandon its plane, the natural strength in that part furthest from its point of tension seeks to approach its first nature as far as possible, that is to say, stretched and ample (*disteso et ampio*) (1). Just such folds are painted at the left in the picture of 'Madonna Solly': and in the portrait of 'la donna ignota' Raphael composes the folds of a dress like a shell: the lines winding themselves spa-



(1) *Trattato della pittura*, ed. Lindberg I 525

ciously, later this shell-like flowing drapery is seen around Galathea's shoulder. Even in this pure naturalistic style, the sensitiveness of the lines is maintained, as in the sitting woman's dress in 'The mass of Bolsena'. But Raphael never exceeds what is natural, he would sooner straighten the profiles and sometimes makes use of sharp contours with lines of very fine convexity forming minute angles one to the other.

We might state the following principles for the drawing of Raphael's pictures, the earlier as well as the later ones.

The plastic line is always of a spacious nature and not merely the plane section of a body, the form of the outlines can be seen and followed perspectively in its twist around the body (see the small drapery fold).

Lines of varying depths must not intersect one another at the same point, (observe how Raphael displaces the landscape lines from the outlines of a figure).

Similarly, Raphael also desires the figures and the picturesque planes to be in relation one to the other with no narrowings or voids, but of a natural and expressive composition, (see how the two figures combine in 'Madonna Tempi' and form perfect contrasts of light and shade).

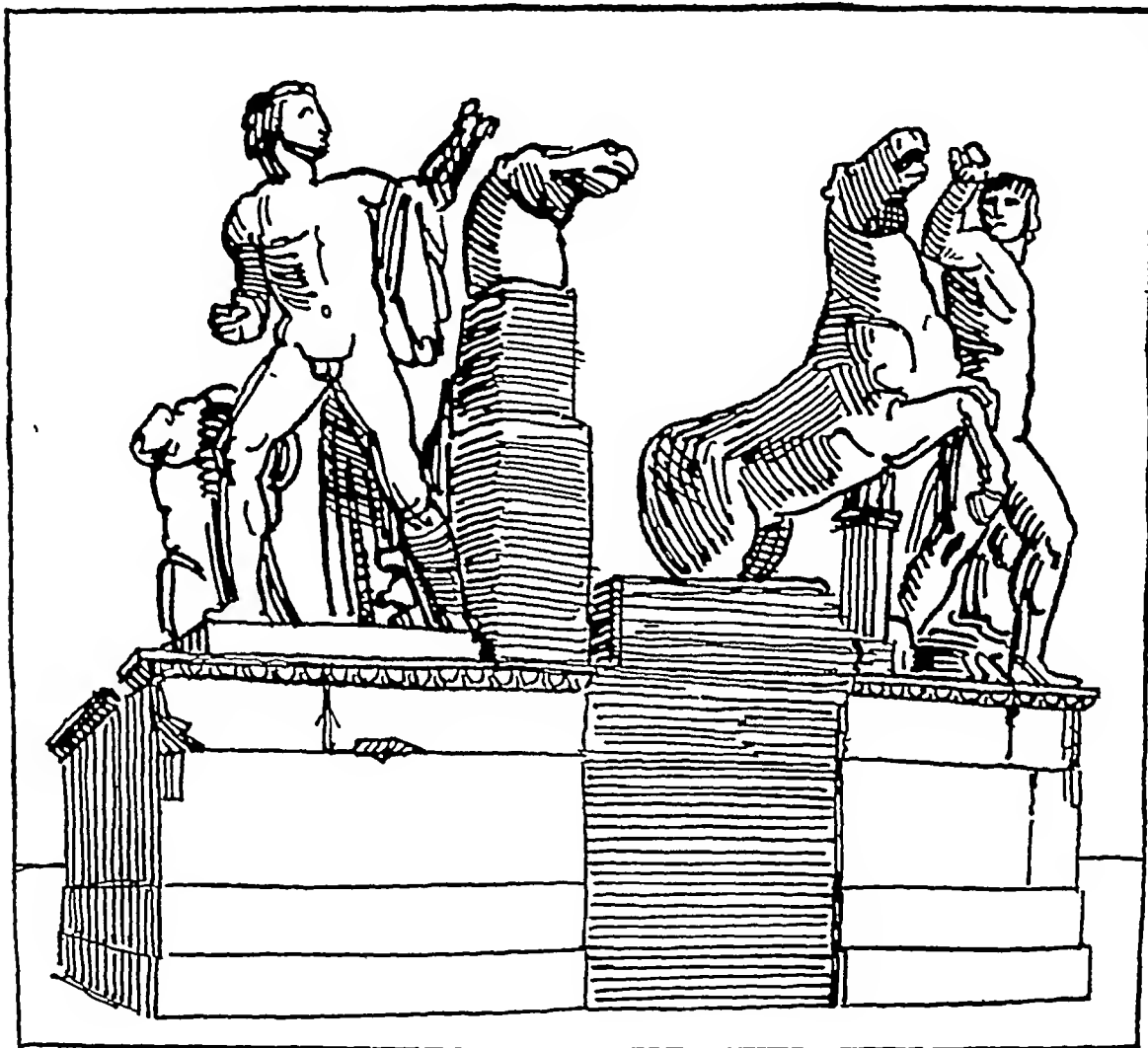
Raphael's style invariably possesses ampleness but is also very tightly held together. It is surprising how much he can represent in a restricted space without giving the impression of narrowness. He could imagine himself in the volume of the figures and dispose of them plially within the given space. He guessed just as sensitively how it is that bodies are arrayed in clothes as he felt the petals of roses cling one to the other. He felt the light pressure of the halo on the saints' neck. His whole style was natural and spiritual.

When we desire to realize, purely artistically, this free and controlled art, we must understand, that, as in perspective, the surface of the painting, according to Leon Battista Alberti's definition, is to be regarded as a section of imaginary lines in front of the space of objects, between them and us, this is also the case in the picturesque spacious style, the plane being placed before the figures so that their movements principally take place within this plane, the figures showing themselves in projection thereon, each rotation of the figures, sideways, obliquely or forwards, gives them a picturesque quality in proportion to the plane of the picture, the motives of movement being sometimes relaxed at other times intensified, insomuch as they glide in the direction of the plane, turn forwards or in the depth. In 'Madonna Solly' the movement from right to left advances forward and is arrested by the open book seen in front, in 'Madonna Tempi' the movement from left to right is decreased by the child which is placed contrary to the direction of movement and turns obliquely in towards the Madonna.

This artistic form of motion in a painting seen in proportion to the picture's plane or in sculpture in proportion to an architectonic volume can be termed the figural movement. The Greeks had known this, but they had not expressed their knowledge in an artistic-theoretical form, and the artists of the renaissance had to discover this theory by practice from the extant antique monuments. Of these monuments which were of the greatest significance were the Dioscuri on the Quirinal, which surpassed

in monumental effect the few antiques known at that period, they are here drawn from an engraving from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The figures are imagined within a volume, the frontal plane being rendered by the vertical plane of the base, each movement, each tension of the figures is felt within this volume. In a picture it would be natural to choose the plane of the picture parallel with the front plane, this nearly being the case in the engraving (1)

(1) Compare Fritz Wichert, *Darstellung und Wirklichkeit*, Diss 1909



Giotto (about 1300) was the first who had understood this law and after him in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Andrea del Castagno (— 1457) who in his few preserved frescos at Florence showed an eminent sense for the severe figural movement, and who accomplished it in other deeper compositions — if it be true, as we think, that the renowned Mantegna engravings and those of Zoan Andrea and others may be traced back to Andrea del Castagno (2) — Through his father Giovanni Santi and through Perugino, Raphael already from his youth was familiar with this mode of seeing, and as soon as his own geniality began to unfold itself he studied the classical nature of figural art, especially influenced by these Castagno—Mantegna compositions. Raphael surpassed his masters because he had more sentiment for the living harmony, whereas Perugino would be content to co-ordinate the figures, placing them one over the other as silhouettes.

(2) Wanscher, *Origin of the engravings of Mantegna*, *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 1919

Raphael's earliest composition with many pathetic figures 'The coronation of the Madonna' (before 1503), shows in a yet primitive form how he tried to produce tension in a Perugino-like disposition of figures



He turns the sarcophagus of the Madonna obliquely in the space of the picture, removing the axis to the left, so that a corresponding strengthening of the movement in the figures must be given towards this side, both below by the apostles, as the figure in the foreground to the right who turns longingly and looks upwards at the Madonna while his shadow falls on the middle of the light part of the sarcophagus, and above by Christ who turns towards the Madonna whilst his crowning arm rounds itself behind her, pausing over her head in the new axis, this circular movement is also prepared by the distance of the angels to the figure of Christ and enclosed by the round frame. It is a fascinating picture which already in the choice of colours distinguishes it from those of Perugino. For while Perugino sought a colouring resembling that of the stained glass windows of a cathedral, Raphael preferred the colours of flowers and birds, stones and grass and clouds and blue heaven, they are ivy-green, crocus-yellow, rose-red, light grey, dark grey, white and sky-blue. And he uses them in such a manner that he directs the eye dramatically throughout the picture. The longing apostle on the right is clothed in blue, wine-red and light green, as though he belonged to the blue Madonna with a crimson sleeve seen against the blue background of heaven, on the contrary in the apostle to the left and in Jesus red colours dominate. The other apostles have a succession of colours, grey, and white, varying with complementary colours grey, blue, yellow, white, dark green, green, stone-red. — We are minded here of Leon Battista Alberti's theory 'the red colour between sky-blue and green enhances both their beauty, and snow-white between ash-grey and crocus, nay between almost all colours renders them lively' (3)

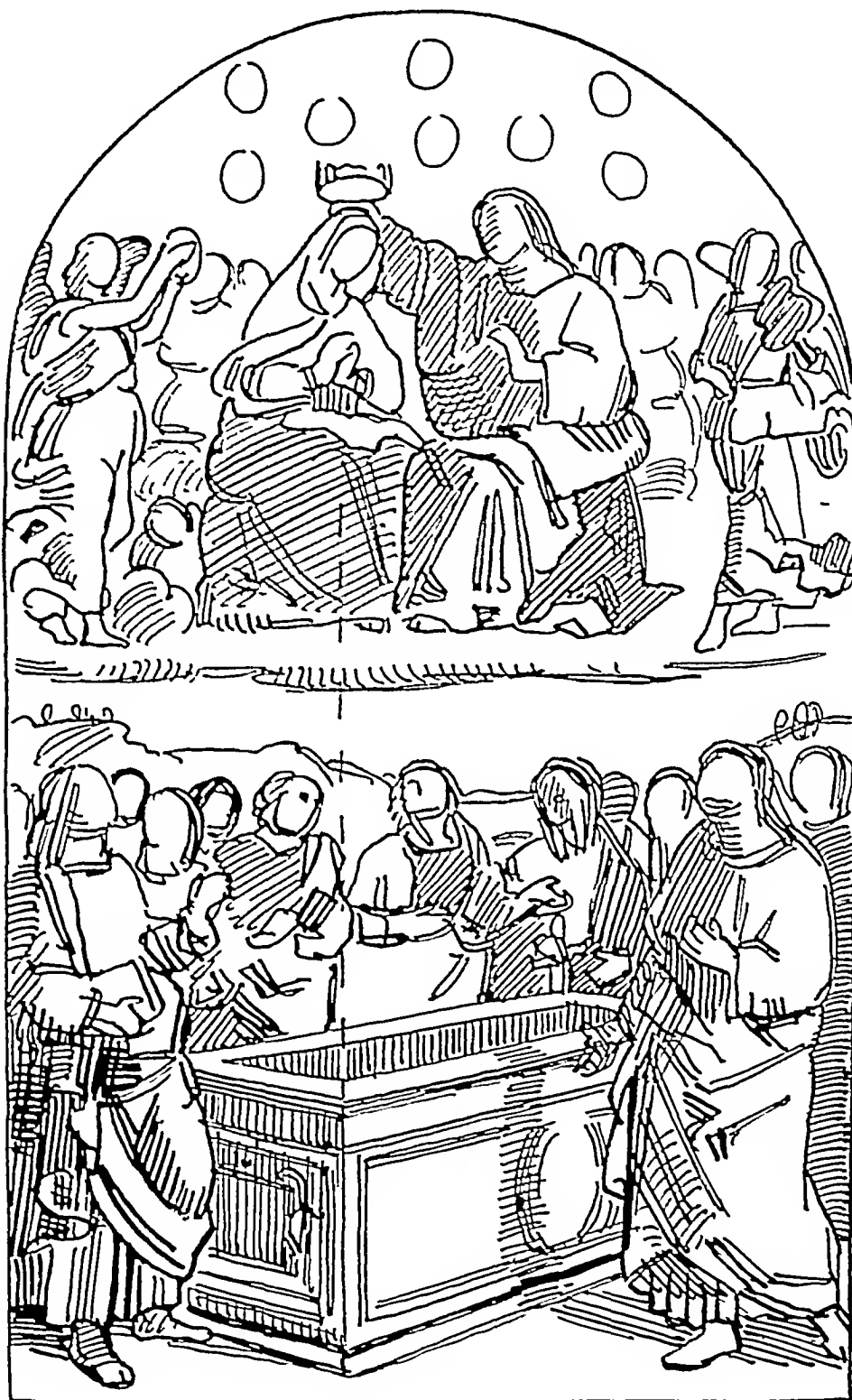
(3) *de pictura*  
(1435) ed. Ba-  
sileae 1540  
p. 54

This art has later engendered the frescos of the Vatican and we can follow the development of this style in a single extant fragment of the monumental fresco from 1505 'The Holy Trinity' of S Severo at Perugia. Unfortunately the lower part, which Raphael did not execute, is missing. Perugino added after Raphael's death a narrow square court with six standing figures, three on each side of a niche with a Madonna figure.

'The entombment' (1507) is composed as a frieze, so that the movement develops itself in the direction of the picture's plane across the direction of depth, and was inspired by the antique after the type of the Roman relief with the dead Meleager, — which was already admired by Leon Battista Alberti —, and after Michelangelo's 'Pietà' in the church of St Peter where the body of Christ lies on the Madonna's knees from right to left turned somewhat backwards. To the group of bearers, Raphael by way of contrast added the secondary figures and the group of women with the swooning Madonna. The result was a splitting up of the movement that was partly directed upwards to the left on the rock close by, partly upwards to the right in the far distant Golgotha, Raphael could thus connect the figures by means of the frame, also as to the height, and fill this square picture with life and tension after the diagonals from the shining red cinnabar legging of the youth in the middle of the picture. — Raphael must have known the Castagno—Mantegna 'Entombment' engraving (Bartsch 3), and Michelangelo's 'Madonna Doni' with the kneeling woman who turns round and the antique prototype of this, the kneeling Illioneus which was in Ghiberti's possession (now in Munich) (2). But he composes quite

(\*) *de pictura*  
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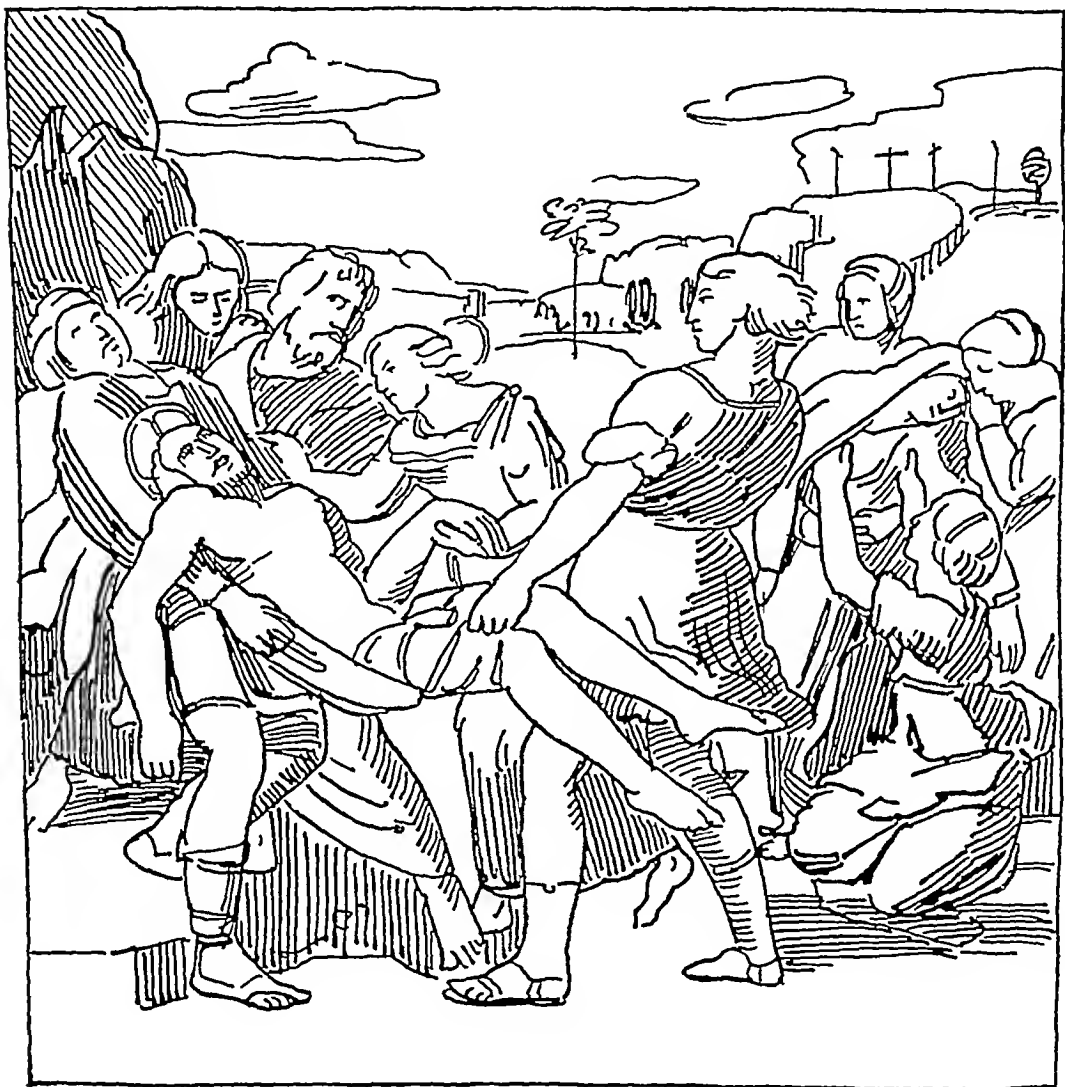
personally, the group of women are far superior to the art of Michelangelo, an instance of the aforementioned ability, possessed by Raphael, to render much in a small space. This he could not have done had he



not mastered the figural movement, the tension in the figures turning round and the relaxation in the parallel outstretched etc. Raphael attained in this picture to the height of the young renaissance style, which with its fresh and natural colouring, corresponds to the unsentimental and realistic period which here came to an end.

In 'The massacre of the innocents' known from Marcantonio's excellent engraving (1), probably reproducing a Raphaelian cartoon or fresco from the (1) See plate 3

period of 1508—1510, the antique interest predominates, but still remains under the influence of Castagno in the Mantegna engraving 'The flagellation' (Bartsch I) and of Zoan Andrea's double engraving 'Virtus et Fortuna' from which originates the motive of the woman running forward Raphael could scarcely yet have known Michelangelo's cartoon of 'The bathing soldiers', on the contrary it seems, without doubt, that the



group of the Laocoon (found 1506) now began to make its influence felt (Perhaps already the bearded man in 'The entombment' who throws his head vehemently sideways, is reminiscent of the Laocoon?) Raphael places the figures in an original manner in the landscape with a low horizon, creating tension throughout the scene, using light and shade dramatically, and producing an effect of movement which transmits itself from figure to figure, when these turn round, break through, are thrown down or rise up, he uses the landscape as accents for the principal figures and as in 'The entombment' he produces unity in the picture also as to the height

## THE MONUMENTAL COMPOSITIONS

**R**APHAEL'S fame as a painter is popularly associated with his Madonna pictures and portraits, it must undoubtedly have been the case also in his time, even cultivated men such as Bembo and Castiglione were not capable of comprehending the art in the big frescos, this may be seen by reading the 'Cortegiano', and by the manner in which men in those days spoke about painting, or by the defective description of Paolo Giovio of the frescos of the Vatican, artists, such as Vasari, even had difficulty in explaining the effects of the greater compositions. The smaller groups and the resemblance in the portraits were better understood. Raphael's greatness, however, lies in his superior treatment of paintings with many figures or his ability of filling the space and creating sentiment with few figures, as though the few were many. This ability he evinced in his first altar-pieces and frescos, and an identical development can be traced to the frescos of the Vatican and the cartoons of the tapestries. The fact that the portraits and the smaller Madonna pictures dominate in his early production even when excepting the paintings from the school, must denote, as already mentioned, the loss of great paintings, it being improbable that the fragment of the fresco at Perugia (1505) was Raphael's only attempt at this difficult technic prior to the Roman period. In any case the frescos of the Vatican betray a superior knowledge of tradition and a quite novel and personal manner of combining and varying the motives of the figures, the same being observed in respect to his pictures from the easel.

The condition for creating a powerful composition is according to an antique and an Italian point of view, the faculty of imparting to the figures a great gesture, i. e. a salient, on the whole a harmonious movement which can be transmitted to or taken up by other figures, it is invariably felt as if there was atmosphere around the figures and as if they had an inner longing which called for expression. Regarded in this light, the so-called 'theatrical' figures in the Italian art of painting are more easily understood, their essence is an artistic power which carries them beyond quiescence and gives them possibilities for an interaction. They are not merely figures alone but figures in action, therein lies their aesthetic importance, their 'grace' (to use Leon Battista Alberti's terminology). Raphael's art consists in creating with genius such ensembles, all gestures becoming harmonious and through their variations and multifarious combinations maintaining a tension, so that the motives which regarded singly perhaps seem exaggerated or sentimental, in union with others possess a delicacy and grace not found in any other painter in the renaissance.

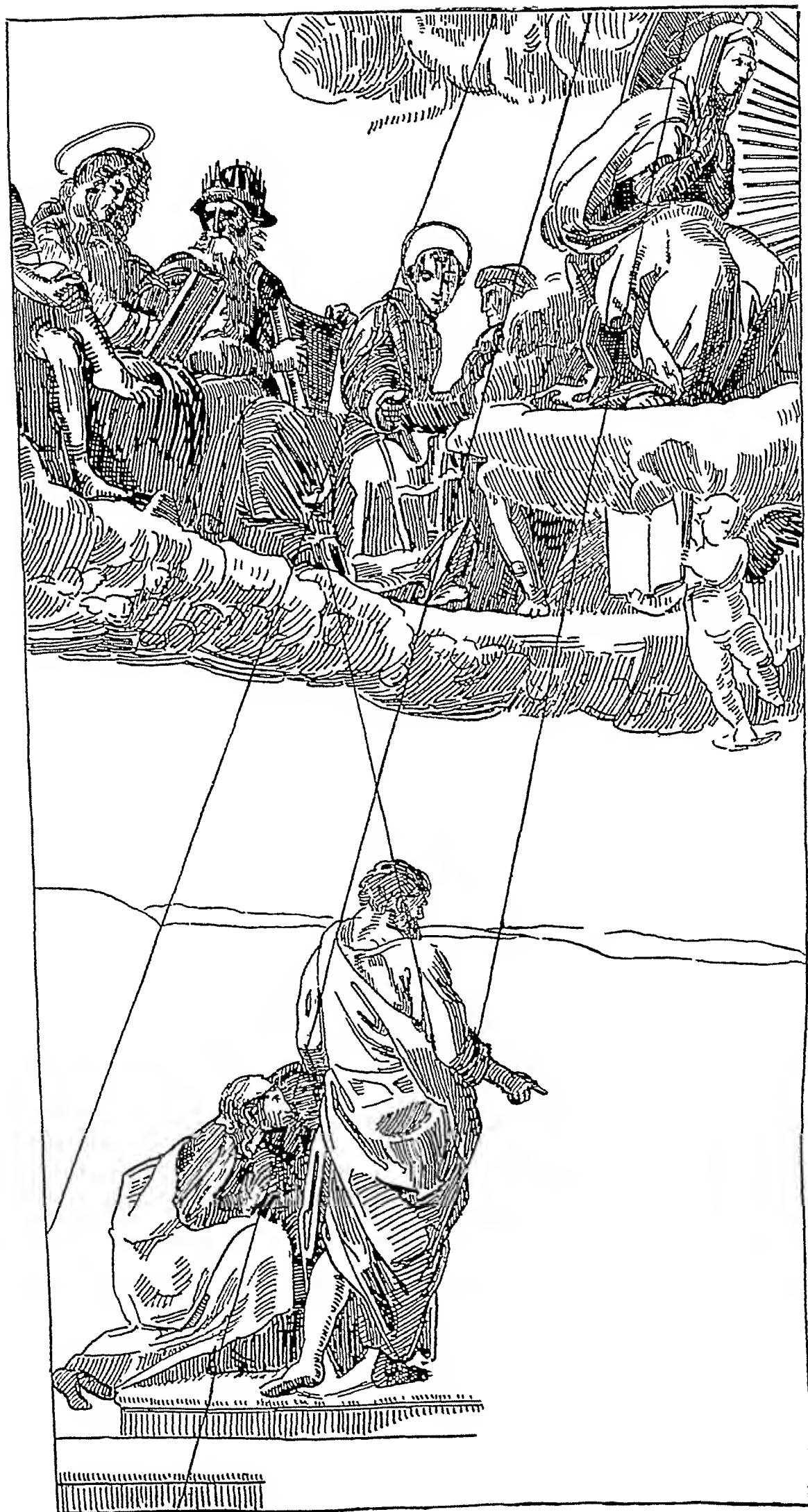
The following analyses will serve as examples. We shall not render a description of the great compositions from beginning to end, but here and there point out what is instructive and typical in the individual work.

Our first example is taken from a part of 'la disputa del sacramento', the middle of the left half with the centaur-like group below — isolated in this drawing from the other figures — King David, St Stephanus and the Madonna. Even as a fragment this part possesses an extraordinary

clearness in the figures and in the space, and by the prolongation of the heavenly rays from the still higher portion of the fresco the harmonious planes in the picture come into view, the figures following certain sloping lines of these planes by their gait or bowed position. When we analyse the motive of each figure we must at the same time retain these original impressions of space and harmony.

The motive of the walking man is a suspension of motion whereby it is felt as a rising and a sinking in his figure while he points with his hand at a definite height and bows his head. the going forward in the motive is accentuated by the youths who join with him in impetuous expectation. the suspension is expressed by the heavenly figure St. Stephanus who looks over his head, sitting but turning round and pointing with his hand while looking downwards. the floating angel repeats his motive. but seen en face. All these figures contribute to emphasize our impression of the walking man's position. But these figures are not isolated. Close to St. Stephanus sits King David with his harp, the slanting line coming from him gives the direction of the walking man's arm. David turns his head energetically in the opposite direction giving us to understand that he belongs to the semicircle of saints while the fathers of the church lower down are gathered around the altar. he holds his harp as they hold their big books. The greatest effect in this connection is rendered by King David's position in the space. in contrast to the walking man's, whereas David looks energetically out of the picture. we, on the contrary must look into the depth where level with the walking man's shoulder we see the lines of the horizon — More remarkable than this tangible motive of David is the Madonna motive seen higher up on a level with the glory of Christ. in connection with the stratum of clouds and the ring of the glory this figure possesses greater tension and greater perfection of gesture than any of the other figures. The others are more angular and more strained. but she has the same abandonment as the expectant youths who prepare us for the impression of her bowed figure. She also obeys the slanting lines which mark out the centaur-like group and St. Stephanus and has a decorative effect in connection with them and with the flying angel. These various figures are graduated in the height which is of importance in order to render the impression of space. In this analytical drawing the characters come perhaps more advantageously to the foreground than in the original, where the motives are somewhat crowded around the glory which becomes flat and does not free itself in the space from the circle of saints. likewise it also lessens somewhat the whole effect that the group of fathers of the church below around the altar are diminished perspectively: in later work Raphael overcame both these imperfections.

In the right half part of the fresco the inward turning centaur-group is contrasted by an incomparable noble gesture of the father Augustinus who on the contrary turns outwards and dictates to a kneeling writer. Here Raphael who otherwise preferred the delicate polygonal contours uses undulating surfaces and outlines inspired by the natural forms of the mitre and bishop's mantle. It is as if the cool light of heaven reposes especially here where the bishops' garbs white and green and golden adapt themselves to receive it in their broad folds. The colours of the



writer are light red and grey as if sitting in half shadow, and behind him stands a black-red cardinal and again in front of the latter the proud Pope in his long, golden brocaded pluvialis with figures. In him the motive of the suspended movement is represented purely as a silhouette, and as this form of expression is the most elementary in the art of painting, his position becomes easily prominent. He stands still and looks upwards whilst lifting his hand as in the act of blessing or consecrating. Therefore the dogmatical explanation of the fresco must reckon him as one of the principal figures. He seems to be Sixtus IV the uncle of Julius II who by his writings occupied a place by the side of the fathers of the church, he appears here in the picture in the same way as Julius II in 'The mass of Bolsena' and 'Heliodorus'.

Raphael had in 'la disputa', as in 'The coronation of the Madonna' and 'The entombment', his own choice of colours, he enhanced the most important figures by crosswise corresponding elementary colours especially blue and yellow, varying them with red and other colours, resembling the colours of stones, birds or plants, all rendered with a perfect sense of their value in the spacious depth wherein they are placed. In an interesting article on the frescos of the Vatican E. Waldmann called attention to the leading rôle played by blue and yellow (1), but it has escaped his notice that these colours are used in opposition to each other, thus Raphael uses the yellow as a means of keeping the transversal plane (surface plane of the picture) — therefore the Pope is yellow — whereas he employs blue for leaping into the depths or as a means of accentuating the deep tensions, the principal figure on the left is consequently blue and St. Peter as principal figure foremost to the left blue and yellow, the Madonna in sky-blue, God the Father in blue.

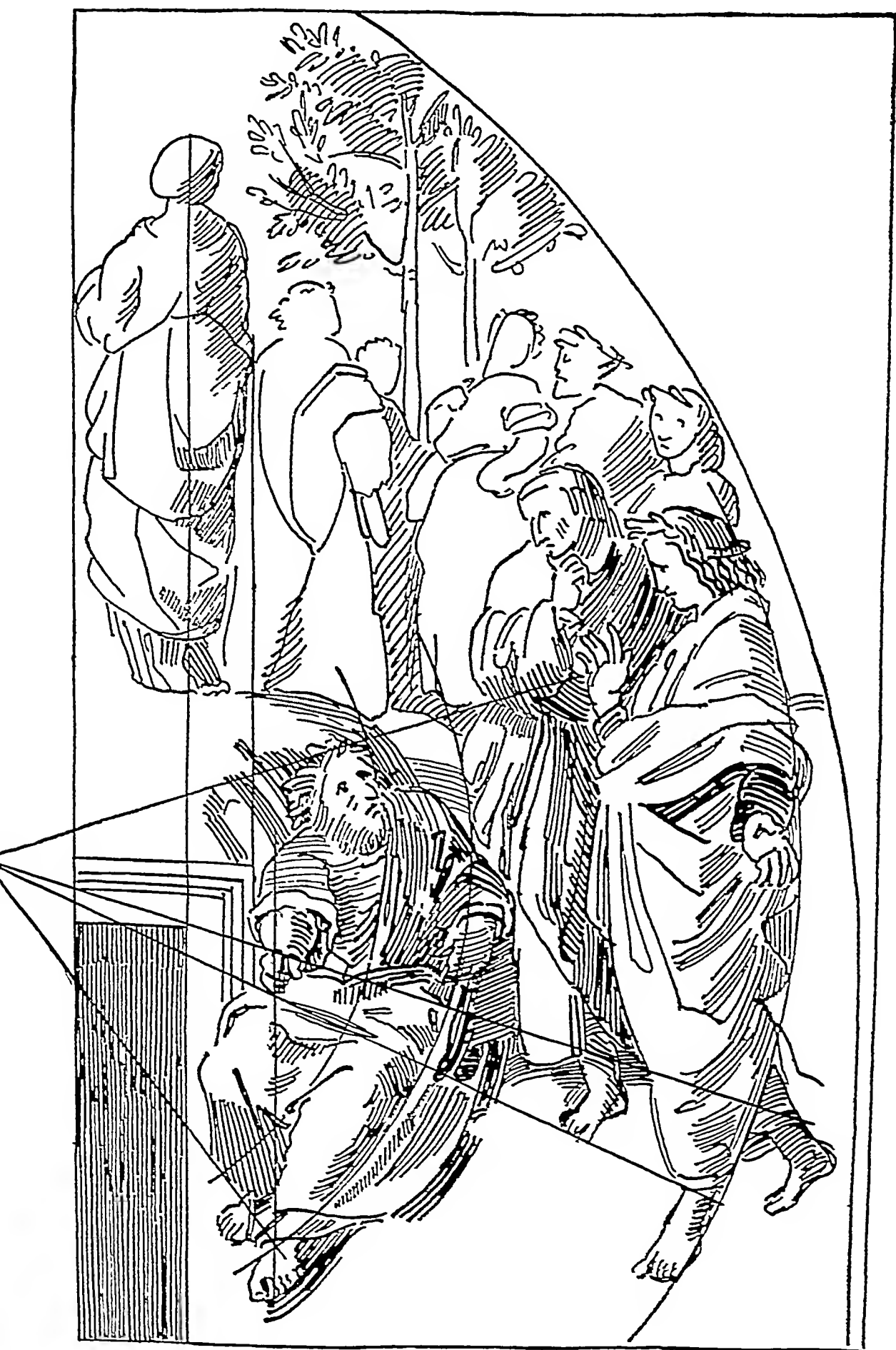
The next analytical study is taken from 'The Parnassus' and shows the right side of the fresco.

The figures in the foreground are drawn in circles to show that this system has been indicated by Raphael himself in the drapery of the sitting poet and in the outlines of the foremost standing poet, just as surely as the axis of the standing muse on the top of the mound is the prolongation of the inner line of the window. Raphael wanted to connect the figures within the round frame and give to them a certain tension of a spacious nature. He attained this by giving the figures a circular movement, by stretching out or extending forward their arms, this movement being taken up by the groups in the depths, while he maintained the fiction of an expansion in spherical form. And behold how characteristically the motives of tension are employed to give us a complete variation of moods between the three figures, the expressions correspond to the rôle played by the figures in the picture: the strong old man has the profoundest thoughts and the most monumental rhythm, the young man in the periphery is talking more superficially, the standing third figure is meditative and sad.

The sitting poet corresponds in the composition to the poetess Sappho turning very much round, on the left half of the picture, but his motive of head and hands is repeated in a varied form in Homer also on the left and who contrasts with the standing muse with her back turned towards us, whom we first perceive on second glance. Homer is a weaker

(1) Die Farbenkomposition in Raffaels Stanzen-fresken. Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst. N. F. XXV, 1914, p. 20.





figure, he possesses a charm of his own, as if here the movement was more spiritual owing to his being blind and groping about. This is characteristic of Raphael. No one knew better how to insinuate the motives into



our consciousness and by means of variations to express the psychological moment. The whole sentiment on the mound with Apollo and the muses is rendered in a similar spirit of harmony. Apollo the principal figure in the middle of the painting is treated as a secondary figure, curiously vague of attitude, but light and easy, as though he never could tire of holding his bow — and what in reality is more tiring than to look at such a position? — The muses stand close to him, in reposeful attitudes, resting their hands on a trumpet or lyre, embracing each other lovingly, listening with their heads close to each other, all this serves to make his hand so light and his head as if listening, his attitude is prepared in the composition with the same ease as a leaf which turns in running water.

'The Parnassus' is painted on a wall where a window forms a broad and deep recess. For artists of an earlier period this would have been a great inconvenience, but Raphael simply took the consequences and used the sides of the window as axes in the picture, and the window recess as the depth in the picture. He placed the corn-blue Homer and the ochre-yellow muse on each of the axes at the top of the round elevation arching over the recess of the window, between them the heads of the other figures form a concave curve, while new curves are formed at the sides uniting plastically the groups of figures in the foreground, differing in the two halves of the fresco. By means of the laurel he accentuated the picturesque perspective, dominated by the diagonal from the left foreground to the right background, about as deep as the window recess, in the background he paints blue heaven and white clouds against which the grey-green trees show up mildly. There is a cool tonality in this picture, in the composition and in the colouring it is one of Raphael's best works. Here we can clearly see the principle of the crosswise employment of colours, blue as the colour which springs forth, yellow as the binding colour for the surface. The figure in the foreground to the extreme right who is so airy in his movements cannot be otherwise than light blue, crosswise the principal figure above to the left, Homer, corn-blue and yellow. The figure in the foreground to the extreme left is ochre-yellow, as also the standing muse with her back turned to us who corresponds to him in the diagonal. The sitting woman on the left, the ample Sappho, is clothed in light grey with dark shadows and has a white sleeve, and to the right the pointing poet is clothed in grey-wine-red. The other figures of the groups in the foreground are respectively clothed in stone-black, stone-red and grey, together with ochre-yellow and grey, a peaceful harmony corresponding to the colour of the earth, and in the lighter parts wine-red and orange which together with grey-wine-red and light blue give a restless effect. Through this choice of colours alone, the movement in the picture must come from the right, the motive of motion being the dissonance of blue, wine-red and orange, the central part of the picture is accomplished with an alternative play of these colours, so that sometimes the yellow, sometimes the wine-red, blue or violet dominate. The principal motive is determined by the symmetrical sitting muses on either side of Apollo, the one on the left who corresponds to the grey and white Sappho, is chalk-white, the other blue. Blue and white again form the colours of the sky. Thus it is this harmony which determines the unity of the picture and whereas the yellow falls in po-

sition at given moments, the wine-red is felt everywhere as a beautiful motive element

The picture painted on the opposite wall possesses a pure architectonic construction, an architrave being placed over the window born by pilasters on either side, the wall being thus divided into two parts with historical scenes and a lunette with three seated allegorical female figures. This part only is Raphaelian (though it must have been painted by Penni) It renders in masterly lines and beautiful colours the art of 'The Parnassus' in quite a decorative manner and is very easy to analyse Here merely a mention of the colours

The heaven is light cobalt-blue with faintly illumined summer clouds, driving horizontally To the left designed against this background, dark green oak-leaves (the emblem of Julius II) and 'Robur's bronze-yellow and greenish armour with the light wine-red drapery changing in the shadow to grey In the middle the genius with the golden mirror and the ash-blond 'Veritas' with golden sleeves, white bodice gleaming greenish and light red and a light sea-green dress turning in the deepest shadows to crimson To the right the dark red reins which constitute 'Temperantia's attribute are inserted in the play of the undulating lines of her body with a masterly lucidity together with her yellow turban, black hair, pale yellow bodice and silver grey sleeves and arm-hangings, and the golden pink colour of the dress assuming a slightly blood-red tone in the shade The two lateral figures 'Robur' and 'Temperantia' are the strongest, and are the most united to the socle both by their position and their colouring, 'Veritas' is the weakest, she seems to be lifted from the socle by the sea-green tone which encircles her, whilst her light figure unites with the genius and with the air In this contrast lies the charm of the composition

The most important painting in the Camera della segnatura is 'The school of Athens' which in style is related to 'The Parnassus' forming a most definite contrast to the rounded apsis of 'la disputa' by its cubical architecture that determines in breadth and depth the planes in which the figures move Here Raphael had studied Ghiberti's reliefs, where, in a reduced scale similar monumental architectural effects combined with figures are to be found

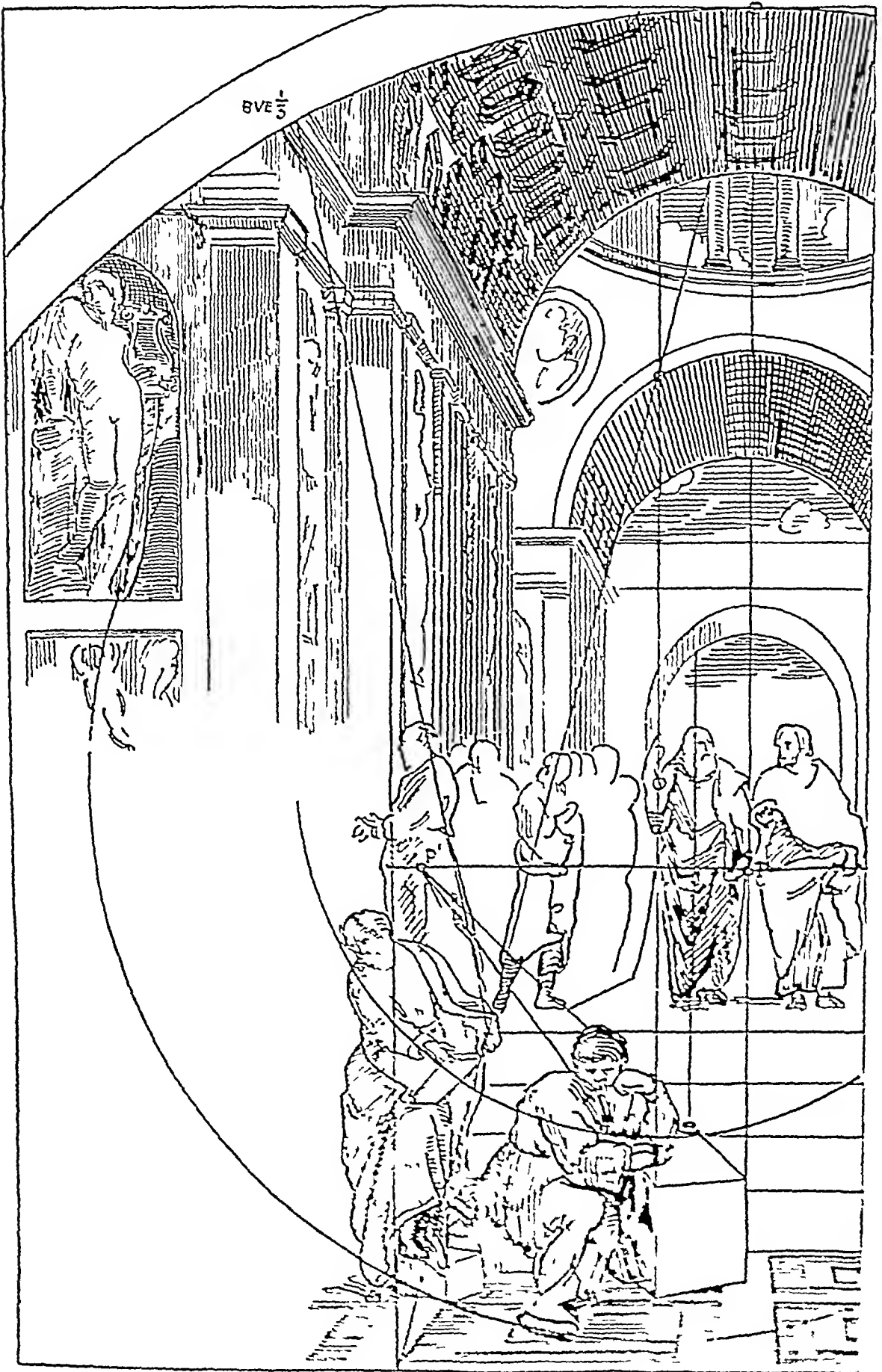
The analytical study shows a portion of the centre of the fresco with constructive lines of which the rectilinear are definite as in part they represent the axes in the picture, partly the architectonic division and the perspective construction, while the two concentric circles are conjecturally drawn having their centre in Plato's arm expressing motion in the two figures in the foreground and including the other figure ascending the stairs to the right By this construction it can be seen how Raphael united certain principal figures in the picture, the Apollo statue in the niche too, a very important figure which together with the turning figure in the foreground ('Democritus') explains the motive of Aristoteles, while in the same way the Minerva statue occupying the other niche and a black-red silhouette figure underneath it, explain the motive of Plato Plato and Aristoteles stand peacefully side by side in the middle as though they had no other function in the composition than to point upwards or forwards, whereas in reality their motives

exist everywhere as the two principal contrasts in the picture. Moreover the study shows the significant interplay as regards gravity of the figures and the architecture, the fresco being most ponderous out towards the periphery on all sides, whilst Plato and Aristoteles are placed in the axis of equilibrium. Raphael has understood how to impart to the figures a characteristic corresponding to their rôle in the picture, heavy or light, in repose or in movement, connecting them mutually or with the architecture according to certain main lines, so that their gestures are invariably felt as a great gesture, e.g. when Plato's vertically pointing hand combines with the most distant of the arches in the architecture whereas Aristoteles's hand is outstretched horizontally forward above the centre, the Apollo figure is combined with the frame, and the turning figure in the foreground is indirectly combined with the long slanting lines which govern the architecture, Socrates and the young man follow symmetrically these lines as they move to their respective sides in a transversal direction. This severity in the composition gives to the eye a possibility of feeling the simultaneity of the many movements so that 'varietas' also becomes 'concinntas' (harmony) — to quote the terminology of the renaissance.

'The school of Athens' forms a contrast to 'la disputa', the figures being placed before the space of depth, whereas in 'la disputa' they are drawn inside it, but in the two pictures the principal figures are placed in a perpendicular plane in which an equilibrium between the foreground and the background is felt. The actual scene in the picture

(1) For calculations of effects of space in this picture, see especially Heinrich Brunn, *Die Komposition der Wandgemälde Raffaels im Vatican*, 1867.

has thus an exact limited depth (as in 'The Parnassus') (1). This renders to the representation monumentality and completeness whilst the more naturalistic style in the early renaissance frescos in the Sixtine chapel (about 1480—90) where the scenes are more undefined was disadvantageous to the figures. It was due to Filippino Lippi that the monumental art of composition created by Giotto and Masaccio was again revived, but this artist was not capable of solving the problem satisfactorily nor can we count with Leonardo da Vinci in 'The Lord's supper' at Milano, especially as Milano lay out of the sphere of the middle Italian artists. Of greater importance was the cartoon by Michelangelo of 'The bathing soldiers' which in the year 1510 was probably known through numerous reproductions, also through engravings by Marcantonio and his school. It seems as if Raphael in 'The school of Athens' had this very composition in mind, in point of the free arrangements of the groups of many moving figures on a limited base which at the same time becomes the base for the space — this corresponds to the importance of the steps in 'The school of Athens' —, we find in addition in the group of young men bending over Archimedes, reminiscences of corresponding bending figures in Michelangelo's cartoon. It was not Raphael's wish to imitate the heavy plastic of Michelangelo. He could represent moving and difficultly foreshortened figures without being massive. He anticipated the strongest of Michelangelo's types of sorrowing figures when painting his beautiful 'Heracitus' before Michelangelo himself had painted his 'Jeremias' (1512). And Raphael imparted to the figures a monumental harmony with the architecture, transforming the plastic felt space in the figures to an united architectural enveloping space whereby the centre of gravity might be



sought outside the figures their earthly nature being thereby eliminated so that they would become more spiritual this Michelangelo had never mastered he did not possess the Umbrian sentiment for the harmony of space

When we arrive at an understanding of Raphael's great style in 'The school of Athens' and of his ability to work with contrasts of figures



The frescos in the Camera della segnatura are inexhaustibly rich in secondary motives, which enhance the harmony of the principal figures, but they possess their own sentiment in which often quite new methods are employed. In Italian art, everyday figures were likewise included, (shepherds, choristers etc.), but also portrait figures, Perugino did not make use of such figures in his pictures, and in 'The entombment' and 'The massacre of the innocents' Raphael still followed his master's example. Whether Roman customs influenced Raphael, and for that matter also Michelangelo, we know not, it is also quite probable that the influence of Dürer's art begun to assert itself, but certain it is that in 'la disputa' a naturalistic attempt begins to make itself felt, imperceptible before it appeared in Raphael's art, gradually showing its relationship to the art of Ghirlandajo and the other Preraphaelite naturalists, especially to Ghirlandajo's frescos in Capella Sassetti in S Trinita at Florence which are more interesting than the more celebrated frescos in S Maria Novella. Raphael sought to express humanity in the motives and spontaneity as Dürer and Donatello had done, and he sought it in persons of all ages and of both sexes, thus his motives have become far richer than they had been in the antique art that invariably made a selection. It was a revolution in representation, as is met with in the Romanesque-Gothic art in Giotto and Masaccio, and Raphael evinced probably a growing sympathy for these old naturalists whose picturesque instincts were so developed. The contrast of instantaneous movement and calmness full of expectation is beautifully expressed by Raphael e.g. in the part foremost to the right in 'la disputa' where we see the hasty impetuous young man bending eagerly forward, and behind him, in the second plane, under the projecting cornice, which keeps the landscape back, a nameless person, one of the community who approaches silently wrapped up in a large white cloak (1)

(1) see p. 59

This is the beginning of the tragic style in the cartoons of the tapestries, thus also the silent young men come forward in 'The death of Ananias'

To the same period as 'la disputa' belong the sketches with sonnets (2) and some other drawings, including the fine study for 'The Poetry' for the ceiling of the Camera della segnatura. It is of importance for the sake of art criticism to establish that such sketches no longer differed essentially from the painted figures, Raphael's style being then both as to drawing and painting wholly in clair-obscur style. Also that the engraving of Marcantonio (3), after the completed composition harmonizes so well with Raphael's drawing that these engravings are of great value even in cases where the original has not been preserved. The picture on the ceiling is only painted by a pupil, and like all such pictures it has the appearance of being primitive, consequently one has been tempted to date it to an early period, whereas the drawing and the engraving prove the composition as belonging to a later period.

(2) plates 4-6

(3) plate 7

Here we can mention another important engraving by Marcantonio representing a composition of Raphael from a somewhat later time (about 1514), 'St Cecilia' (4), it can be compared with the celebrated picture at Bologna which in spite of that late date is primitive in character and quite unlike Raphael's art. Here again the original (the model for the

(4) f. 28

engraving) is in the great clair-obscur style, a masterly, simple work of art, while the painting is a transformed work by a pupil which cannot be placed on a level with any authentic picture by Raphael. That the painting hitherto has been preferred to the engraving must be sought in the fact that the composition has pleased and satisfied the realistic taste and sentimentality which could not rise to the comprehension of Raphael's noble way of combining his figures and giving them a place in the space of the picture, and to fill that space with life by a dissonance, as here in the silhouette of the group of angels in contrast to the figures below. If the heavenly lighted silhouette be removed the earthly group then becomes massive and it is felt to be an exertion that St Cecilia bears the organ, or that the others do anything with their hands. But with the heavenly silhouette, height, space and airiness are attained in the picture, this impression does not depend on a simple addition: the effects of the light air and curved harp are transmitted indirectly to us as a reminiscence of the bishop's bowed head with the light on his mitre and creates space before him. It is as though a continual current of light from above streams downwards on this side of the picture between St Cecilia and St Magdalena, while St Paul's sword shines in the intermediate space to the other side. The eye likewise feels that there are five figures in both spots, but that their reciprocal relationship varies. This gives, through an aesthetic process, an impression of alternating movement, forward or at the sides, the large group seeming to breathe and yearn. There is no sentimentality in the picture. Yet the whole is full of life and sentiment.

But let us return to the frescos of the Vatican. Julius II had seen the decorations of the Camera della segnatura and it seems that he had directly proposed to Raphael to begin a naturalistic painting, a historical fresco in which the Pope himself desired to be painted.

The subject in 'The mass of Bolsena', the first (?) of the frescos in the Stanza d'Elodoro, is the miracle which happened in 1263 when an incredulous priest became convinced of the transformation of the hostia to Christ's body when lifting the hostia from the linen cloth, 'corporale' (symbol of the cloths wherein lay the body of Christ) and seeing the blood dripping from it. The cloth was kept at Orvieto where Julius II worshipped it in 1506 (1).

(1) *Pastor Geschichte der Päpste* 111, 861

The picture is painted on a wall with window just as was 'The Parnassus' and the depth of the window recess represents also here approximately the depth of the space for the figures, in the background an indefinite perspective of a church interior was added, these two spaces are divided by a black-brown pulpit, the curved line thereof answering to the curve of the heads of 'The Parnassus'. On the left side of the picture the emotional community rises up and presses forward in the direction of the more elevated choir (over the window), the choir-boys with their vertical or slightly slanting candles continue the movement towards the inclined priest who lifts the hostia in line with the pulpit, and the movement in the priest's figure is taken up indirectly in the perspective background by the arch passing over to the other side of the altar, which is the vertical axis of the picture and where the movement is checked. Some vertical lamps stand here and the





drapery of the altar falls in a straight line — To the right of the picture Julius II kneels before his large folding stool (*sella curulis*) while he with devotion and with a strong and healthy expression, adores the wonder which takes place just in front of him. behind him, but lower down on the steps kneel the cardinals in their red garments assembled by the arch of the frame and at the foot of the stairs the officers and Swiss guard with the Pope's sedan chair These are quite calm and heavy. the picturesque effect of the red and green black violet brown and white colours is perfectly harmonious. the silhouette effect of the figures, steps and decorated altar form a decided contrast to the moving figures to the left with their soft and broken colours. from the bottom upwards rose. green. yellow, reddish-grey and green —. the stronger movement and the large plastic fullness not tolerating heavy colours here This colouristic contrast between the two halves of the picture has been remarked and explained. also as regards the other frescos by E Waldmann (1)

(1) referred to  
on page 50

The impressive in this picture lies in the great wave of sentiment transmitted from the multitude to the priest and imparts to his figure an expression indirectly felt more than seen, in his face or gesture. answered at the opposite side by the monumental calmness in the figure of the Pope. and in the whole part of this architectonic side. This rising emotion in the expressions. this enthusiastic abandonment and well-calculated calmness are also to be found by way of contrasts in earlier frescos but Raphael's sentiments have now become more manly and more remarkable. compelling himself as he does to fill a whole picture



with but these few figures who are assembled around this one wonder — As a single example of a monumental figure in 'The mass of Bolsena', we shall here mention the woman on the left who rises up. Raphael has given to her grand and motherly figure an intermediate form something between a moving and a floating action, a movement striving upwards and yet forcibly retained, especially by the lines of drapery which keep the figure to the arch of the frame, he distributes the long movement in great curves, the drapery falling between her two arms. The movement is broken in the same way in the other figures, advancing upwards as by great steps.

Raphael imparts to this rising female figure a special effect, she towers above the group of sitting women with their children clinging together who thereby impart strength to the elasticity of her movement. We note that she lifts her arm through the long curve of drapery, and that she follows the movements of the figures near to her. Her gesture has a delicacy because it is outbid by the men above who point downwards and further towards the priest. Through the rectangular corners of the steps her hand is easily seen in the space and is accentuated by the other hands in the background which also are held back or stretched forward. The head of this woman has the great Raphaelian type whose development can be traced to the women in 'The entombment', this long-drawn and especially long-nosed type which imparts to the profile the same effect as the jaw line, especially when the head is inclined, a new solution of the antique problem of making the structure of the heads identical. This type is to be seen as early as in Masaccio's painting in the young man who comes to fetch the tribute money. For the development of this of Raphael's types the Apollo figure in 'The school of Athens' is instructive.

Before proceeding to the other historical fresco 'The expulsion of Heliodorus' we should do well to read the account in the Old Testament Maccabees II 3 chapter.

'There was in Jerusalem a righteous high priest with name Onias, who brought the temple in such honour, that kings gloried it with presents, so that Seleucus bore all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. But a certain Simon who was made governor of the temple had a dissension with the high priest and to revenge himself he told the governor of Phenice, Apollonius that there were hidden great treasures in the temple. Apollonius mentioned it further to Seleucus and Seleucus sent his treasurer Heliodorus to Jerusalem to fetch the money and when he was come to Jerusalem and had been courteously received by the high priest he declared wherefore he came and asked if these things were so indeed. Then the high priest told him that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children, or belonged to a certain Tobias and that it was not possible to deliver up anything, Heliodorus said that after the orders he had received from the king the requisite should be taken up in the king's treasury. And he appointed a day and entered in to order this matter wherefore there was no small agony throughout the whole city. But the priests prostrating themselves before the altar in their priests vestments called unto heaven upon Him who had made the law for the trusted goods — — Others ran flocking out of their houses for general prayer and the women



girt with sackcloth under their breasts abounded in the streets and the virgins who were closed in ran some to the gates and some to the walls and others looked out of the windows, and all holding their hands towards heaven made supplication. Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts and the fear of the high priest being in such an agony.

Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed. Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the treasury, the Lord of spirits and the prince of all power caused a great apparition so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God and fainted and were sore afraid. For there appeared unto them a horse with a terrible rider upon him and adorned with

a very fair covering and he ran fiercely and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had a complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him notable in strength, excellent in beauty and comely in apparel who stood by him on either side and scourged him continually and gave him many sore stripes. And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground and was compassed with great darkness but they that were with him took him up and put him into a litter' — —

Through the prayers of the high priest the two youths again showed themselves and Heliodorus regained his health and became converted.

Raphael assembles as many of these moments as possible into one unit of time, and even paints Pope Julius borne by his servitors, coming in as spectator from the left, this anachronism did not shock the tastes of the period, through many centuries of art one was accustomed to see contemporary donators appear in biblical pictures, in later years persons of distinction in England and France even appeared on the stage of the theatre itself. The supposition is ungrounded that the portrait group was added later, in any case it constitutes a wonderful weight in the equilibrium of the composition, forming the restful frieze-like part in the otherwise strongly movemented effect with accentuated depths.

Though Raphael's sketch for this fresco is lost, we have a clue to some of his motives. In the first place it was for monumental reasons that this Jewish temple interior should be represented en face, as was the hall in 'The school of Athens'; and to create a division of the scene which would correspond to the different groups and actions: the women's fear, the high priest's prayer, the expulsion of Heliodorus, Raphael must have imagined the interior of the temple as being three-aisled like a mediaeval church, to the left he could then assemble the terror-stricken women, in the middle show us the high priest at prayer and to the right from out of the depth of the side aisle the soldiers bearing the treasure, the expulsion itself could take place at the very front as though from an assembling diagonal in the whole scene. An important necessity for the composition, already in Perugino's opinion — cf. 'The annunciation' at Fano — would finally be, that the principal action, the expulsion should take place with a centrifugal force so that the space in the centre of the scene is left empty. It would certainly give a striking effect that the principal figure was thrown down, but so much more powerful must the tension be in the space or in the surrounding architecture. The remarkable architectonic motive itself (the cupola borne by heavy Corinthian corner-pillars) originates probably from Dürer's engraving 'The betrothal of the Madonna' ('Das Marienleben', before 1506) where the cupola is still but a floating baldachin in a Gothic church interior with Corinthian columns. While he gradually worked at the composition Raphael probably had to make the architecture more massive more oppressive, the centrifugal movement being reflected in the group of secondary figures, while the fall of Heliodorus forwards and downwards was answered by an ascending and inward going movement of the other figures. Thus Raphael was led to the motive of the youths climbing on the pillars and holding on to them while moving in an inward direction, a motive already used by Donatello, yet more as a



frieze, in the Antonio relief at Padova, which was known to Raphael; it reminds also of a motive in Dürer's engraving 'The presentation at the temple' ('Das Marienleben', before 1506) where the figure in the foreground to the left moves behind a big column whilst holding to it with one arm

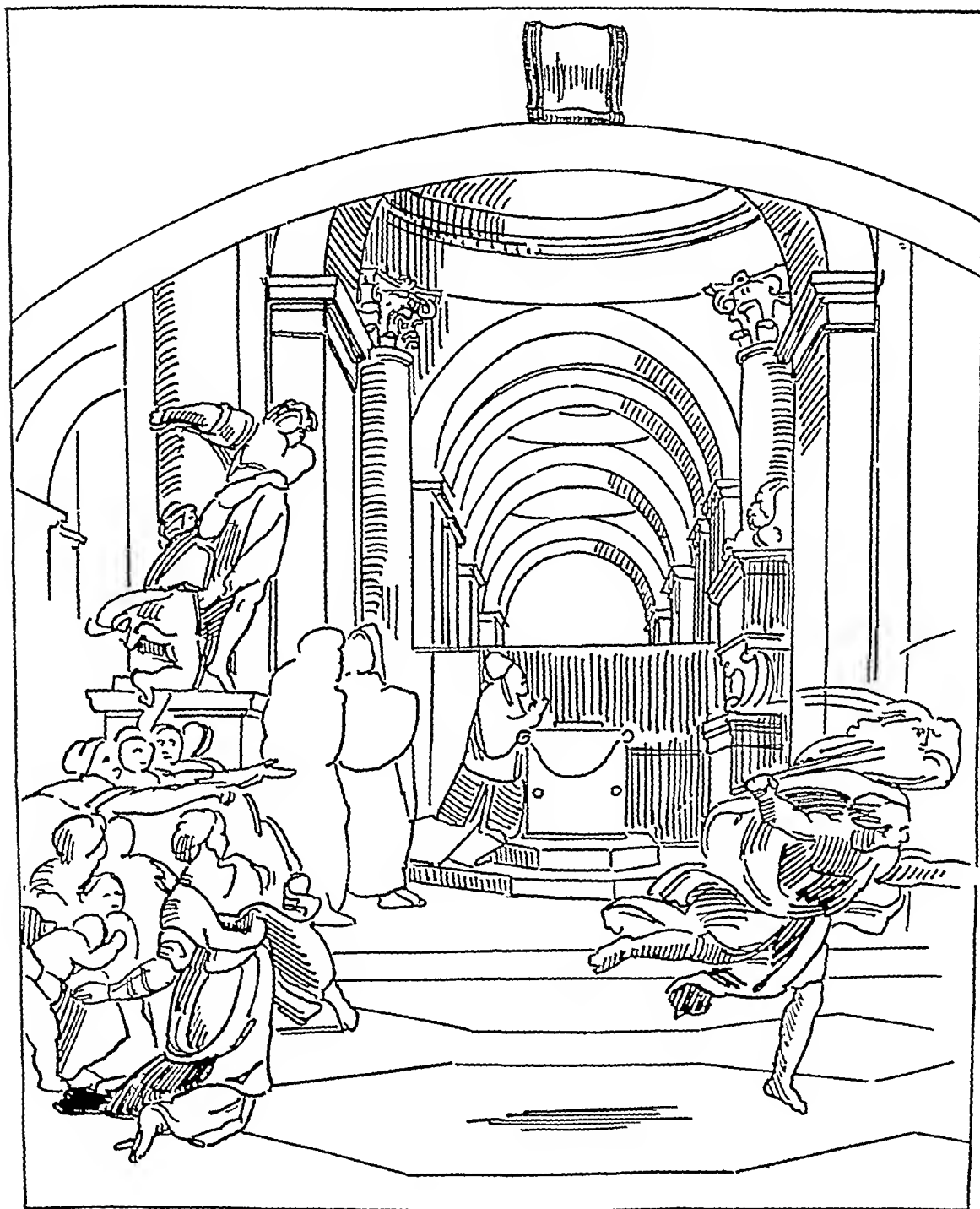
Whereas Raphael as prototype for the fallen Heliodorus had resource to the antique recumbent river gods and even causes the vessel with gold to empty its contents just like their pitchers, and while for the

rider could conceive the Roman warriors on their heavy prancing horses, and he from these two principal figures could form a group, he had no prototype for the angels. The words in the Bible regarding the two young men who 'stood by him on either side and scourged him continually', are too motionless, the angels had more especially to express speed, they had to be both strong and light and hurl themselves through the space coming behind the rider to show that he was the real destroyer. But as the angels had thus to be seen nearest in the middle of the picture, it would be difficult to impart to them sufficient speed, this could alone be done by making use of the contrast to the group of figures to the left, while the axis in the composition would be removed from the middle to the left principal pillar, and the movement of the angels calculated as parallel to the horizontal lines in the space freed from the diagonal direction of depth to which the Heliodorus group is strictly bound. The floor over which the angels fly had to impress especially with its lines in the breadth, divided into gigantic octogonally paving stones (supplemented by square and hexagonal borders), this system alone imparting tension to the space different to that in the frescos of the Camera della segnatura where the division in the composition was rendered by the juxtaposed squares. When the foremost angel flies with outspread arms and legs towards Heliodorus, the distance from his shadow to his figure makes his left foot scarcely touch the ground, the movement of the angel sideways is rendered by the other foot being connected with the horizontal line of the step, and his movement forwards by the perspective, a double effect which shows the different moments in the movement and accentuates the vigour of the angel. This is felt so much more as the principal figure in the group to the left with which the angel is connected, the woman turning round in the foreground and the two youths on the plinth of the pillar together with the high priest, form a perspective plane just as the sides of a pyramid to which the angel also would have to join in a corresponding plane, if the horizontal line as already mentioned did not hold his leg and give him the frieze-like direction of movement. In consequence thereof some women stretch their arms horizontally above the turning woman, the circular and rising movement dominating in the meantime in the whole of this side. The following sketch shows the nature of the different motives and their connection to the architecture — The group with the Pope renders the slowly advancing movement from the left, the first of the bearers stands stiffly on his legs like the rider's horse on the opposite right half, the flying angel and the frightened women are so much lighter in contrast.

It has been remarked by all art historians that the naturalistic picturesque style of this fresco compared with the idealistic style in 'The school of Athens' must have been felt by contemporaries as a wonder of realism. Probably it was this fresco which in the Summer of 1512 the gentlemen from Ferrara admired whilst Alfonso d'Este remained with Michelangelo on the scaffolding in the Sistine chapel. But there is no proof that the epoch-making unity of this scenic effect in the composition was comprehended. Tintoretto was the first of the younger generation who had understood Raphael, still however without the full ability to create

such explosive and monumental effects In 'Heliodorus' Raphael laid the foundation of the barocco style of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but he was not surpassed by any, not even by Rubens or Velasquez

For the academicians of a later period the fallen Heliodorus was the finest example of the drawing of a perfect figure, thus the antique mo-



tives had to be translated before being inserted in a spacious composition(1), (1) see p. 63 the volume of the figure directed by a voluntary slanting axis around which the various parts of the body are harmoniously outlined. It was the result of Raphael's spacious-geometric view, which already manifested itself in his drawing of a shell-like drapery, an arm rich with folds or any spacious form surrounding a centre. The style in Heliodorus is merely more accentuated, every one can see what rôle the lance plays in the composition of the figures as the slanting axis around which the spacious movement develops itself. The head and armour



of Heliodorus also possess an extraordinary delicacy in the drawing and likewise there is an equally important compositional connection with the figure behind him, rising through the yelling warrior (whose bestial expression is a contrast to the fine physiognomy of Heliodorus) to the soldier bearing the treasure who forms the top of the group. To support the arm of Heliodorus and to create certain double effects, another warrior bending down on the right whose figure is vague, has been added. Raphael could easily have made this figure and the yelling warrior more distinct but just here he wanted to create a break.

In the composition of colour here Raphael also used blue for the principal figures: the woman in the foreground, the high priest, the rider and Heliodorus, especially as it depended for him to accentuate the depths for which he, as already mentioned, used blue. The other colours are broken. The white in the garments to the left stands out clearly. The brown-gold tone of the vaults is an important factor in the architecture. But it is not in the colouring that the fresco especially asserts itself.

The third of the pictures in the Stanza d'Elodoro 'The deliverance of St Peter' is painted on a wall with window facing 'The mass of Bolsena', and it was fortunate that the window here was placed in the middle and not to one side, otherwise Raphael could not have made use of the symmetrical division of the picture with the architecture which now imparts such a great effect.

The event is represented in three episodes: in the middle the prison where the angel awakens the sleeping apostle, to the left on the steps the soldiers becoming attentive of the angel's presence and to the right St Peter and the angel leaving the prison while the guardians are sleeping. The whole is rendered with a strict simultaneity, for Raphael knew that upon this depended the impression of the miraculous, also Shakespeare represents the moment itself when Hamlet sees his father's spirit, which is unseen by his mother, while Polonius lies slain, Hamlet says here while he points at the apparition which disappears:

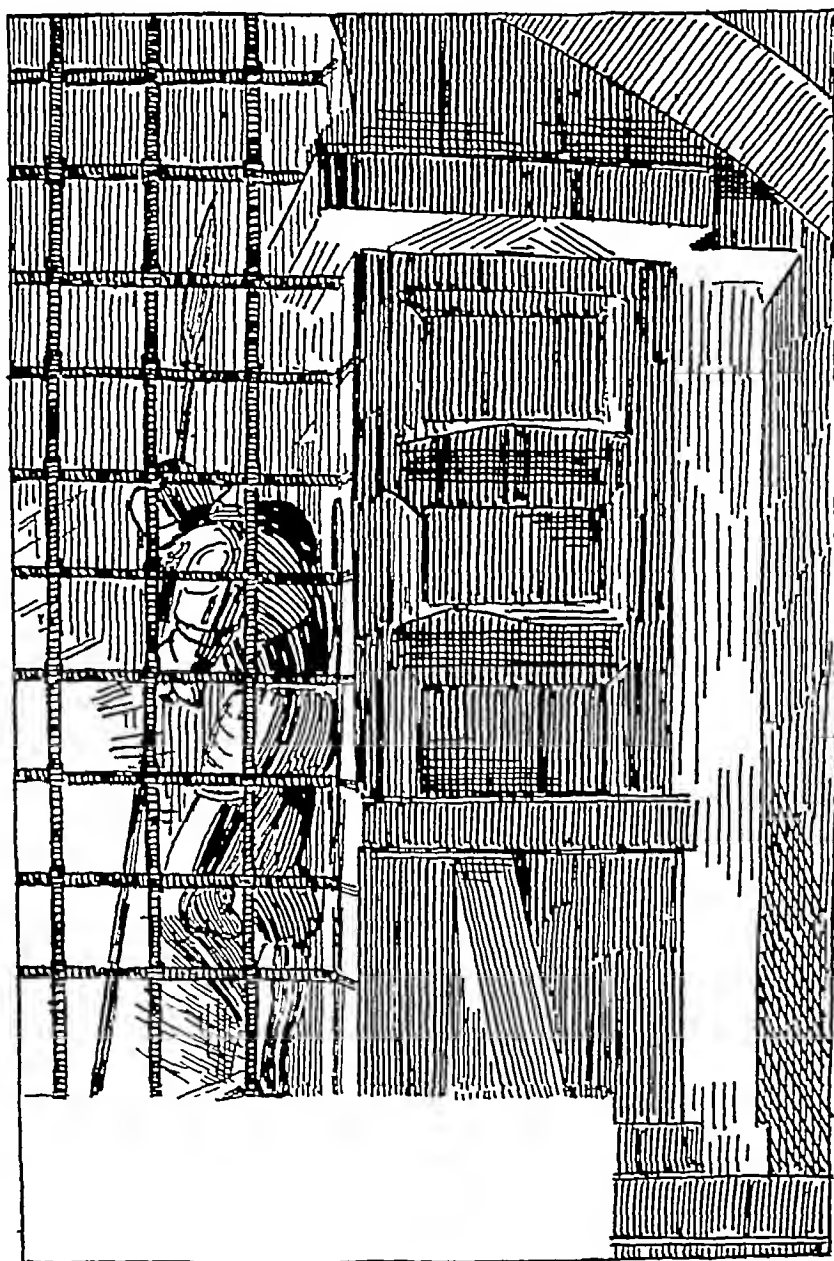
Why, look you there! Look, how it steals away!  
My father, in his habit as he lived!  
Look where he goes, even now, out at the portal

The thought in this is just as monumental

There are twelve persons in the picture, but the majority hide their heads, and the architecture itself presents its shady side. The moon, however, comes into view and the whole picture is infused with a faint reddish glow, below on the big surrounding arch falls a slanting light from the torches while the remainder is in the shade. This latter phenomenon forces the semi-obscure scene to recede, so that with the perspective of the steps the front of the prison seems to lie at a certain distance from the plane of the picture above the window, the depth of which here too, corresponds to the depth of the space of the picture without counting the landscape. Some of the figures are seen before the plane of the prison's front, others in the plane itself, there is an equilibrium between them whilst moving inwards or forwards, or to the sides. The axis of the whole picture lies in the pillar on the right-

hand side, so that the symmetry of the front is counteracted by this motion, but on the extreme right third part frontality finally predominates in the group of the angel and St Peter coming forward

Inside the grating can be seen as silhouettes the reposing figures of St Peter and the soldiers — we read in 'The Acts of the Apostles' 12, 6—7 'the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound



with two chains and the keepers before the door kept the prison And, behold, the angel of the Lord came upon him, and a light shined in the prison and he smote Peter on the side, and raised him up, saying, Arise up quickly And his chains fell off from his hands' — The angel bends over St Peter and forms in the glory a vague inclined cross with very soft outlines (compare this angel with the flying angel in 'Heliodorus') Everything inside the grating of the prison is determined indirectly by the squares which give such a strong effect that all else becomes milder and which by its pure plane at the same time contrasts with the space of the figures and the space of light and renders to all lines a common measure a proof of the importance Raphael bestowed on the quadrature of the plane of the picture which in other cases, as a pure technical aid



was effaced Raphael uses here the quadrature to characterize the position of the different personages in the space. The foremost soldier is inserted architectonically and calmly in the squares while his lance leans at the same angle as the railing to the left. The angel on the contrary, is seen in an agitated inclination, bending forward, and is crossed everywhere in its silhouette by the corners of the grating. St Peter and the keeper to the left have no connection with the grating and through the blinding light from the glory which seems to envelop them protectingly, are quite indistinct.

The warrior, who is the principal figure on the left outside the prison, speaks to a warrior who awakens and looks at him, the angel in the prison speaks to the sleeping St Peter, to the right the angel comes forth holding St Peter by the hand and looking at him, while St Peter as in a dream looks straight ahead. These three related groups direct the action in the picture and Raphael imparted expressly to the first group also a reciprocal connection, even if it is of no consequence what the two warriors are saying to each other, for thus he prepares us for the beautiful effect of St Peter and the angel advancing together. It is just as important that the soldiers hold a torch which forms a centre in this part of the scene (the soldiers circulating around it), and that the moon glides behind a cloud, for thus we are prepared for the much greater effect on the right that the glory of the angel shines before St Peter, almost enveloping him. Beginning our survey of the picture from the left, the naturalistic effects then come first into view, in the middle and on the right the complicated and ideal. The sentiment in each of the three parts depends on the reciprocal harmony, it seeming as if these same warriors were each time metamorphosed and came in the repose of sleep which reigns at last.

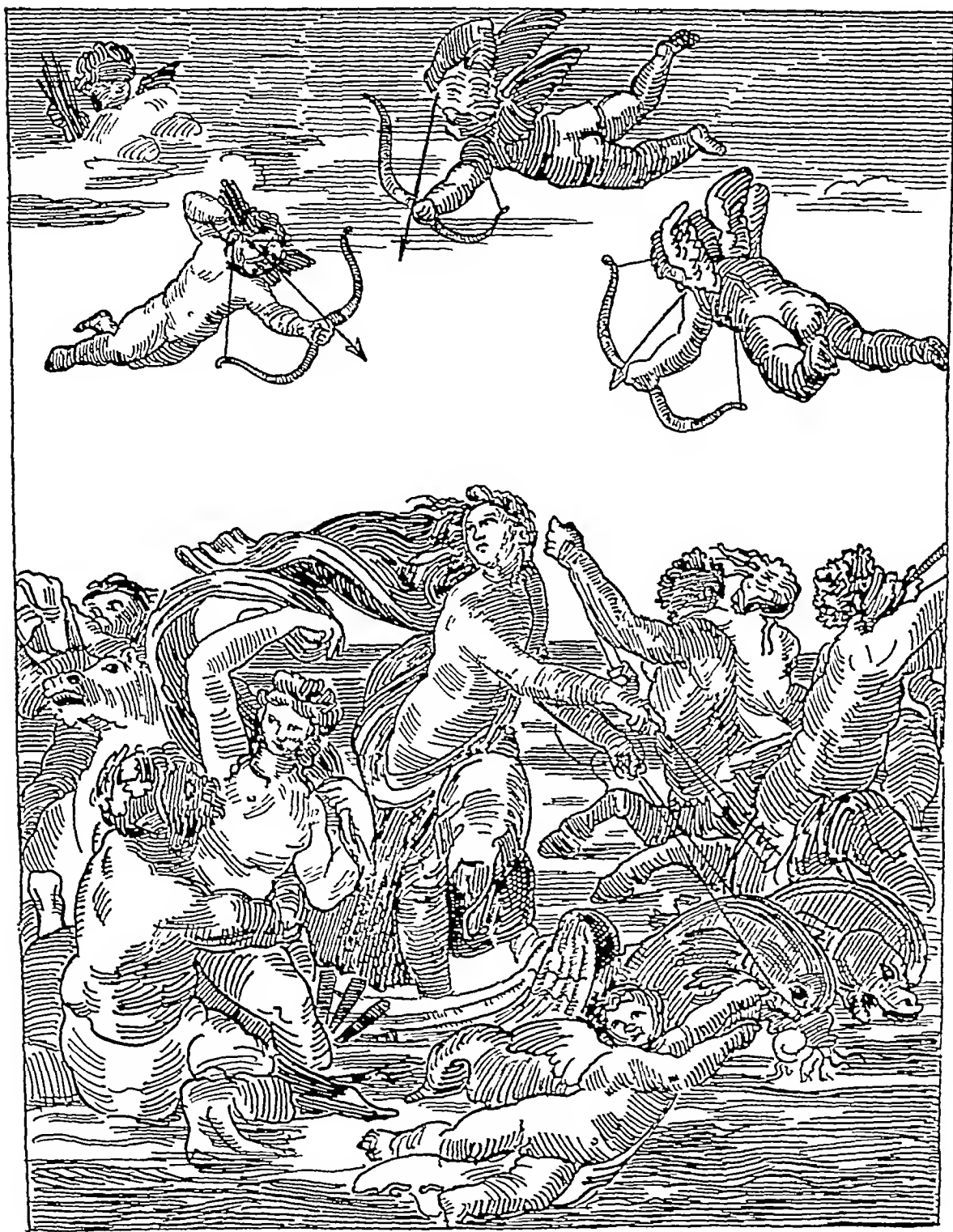
The naturalistic moment in this picture as in 'The mass of Bolsena' and 'The expulsion of Heliodorus' is of great importance. It was certainly valued most by the contemporaries, Baldessare Castiglione at the end of book I of 'Il cortegiano' mentioning the night effect as a triumph in the art of painting. Technically the closest parallel to this picture is a Florentine warrior portrait with moonlight (National Gallery, London) perhaps by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Raphael's friend, but the monumental prototype was, as is generally known, the fresco of Piero della Francesca 'The sleep of Constantine' at Arezzo.

In the lifetime of Julius II, thus before February 1513, Raphael painted some now lost frescos in the long Corridor of the Belvedere. It might be supposed that they represented antique scenes and that Marcantonio's engraving of 'The wine harvest' is one of these (1). Here the tension of the figures in connection with the surface of the picture, the figural movement, is strongly and clearly used. It is Castagno's style to perfection.

Together with these frescos 'Galathea's triumph' in Villa Farnesina may be mentioned (wrongly dated 1514 from the false Castiglione letter). Still more than in the engraving of the holy Cecilia, the composition is a harmony of the earthly and heavenly groups. In 'Galathea's triumph' all is unity through the figural movement in proportion to the plane of the painting, beginning at the left from the group advancing out

(1) see plate 10

of the depth, turning forwards by the merman who seizes the nymph, and therefrom conveyed by the swimming cupid round about Galathea to the frieze-like group on the right with the diverging movements Galathea in the middle possesses all the effects combined in herself,



she is picturesque and plastic, beautifully turned with crossed limbs and with the light falling on her knee facing us. In her all pauses for a moment towards her or past her the cupids aim, and their heavy flying bodies raise the centre of gravity of the whole, rendering the space elastic and the air free around her.

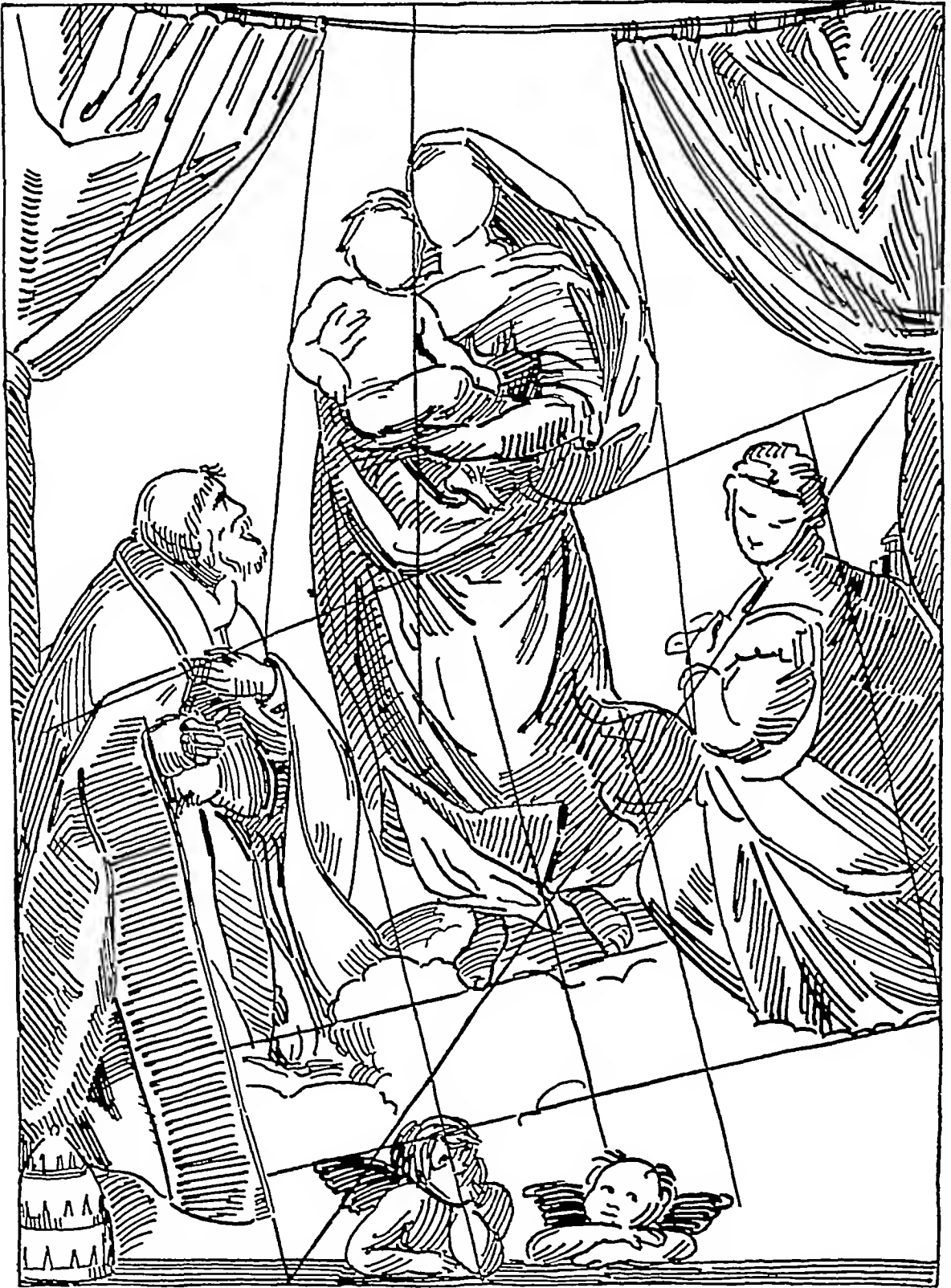
When we speak of transmission of movement in a composition we must reckon with certain associative qualities in the motives of figures as a motive transmits itself when the same elements are recognized in

transformation or variation In the picture of Galathea the flying cupids are one and the same motive but in different positions to the plane of the picture so that it seems as if there were three different motives related one to the other At the same time the swimming cupid below imparts a variation of Galathea's naked body, and here too we feel the relationship and the difference because both motives are connected yet varied

The constrained manner in which the cupid is swung down is necessary to exaggerate Galathea's motive Through this cupid, Galathea again becomes associated with the cupids in the air, which is accentuated in a delightful manner by their bows whose soft and curved lines remind us of her rounded forms When we then compare Galathea's motive with those of the other nymphs, we feel that Galathea imparts a variation through the direction of her glance and the proportion of her arms to her body, but at the same time certain likenesses in the posture of the bodies and a direct similarity demand that Galathea and the nymphs be seen connectively What a refreshing effect does it not impart to Galathea that this important secondary figure must disengage itself from the merman's arms, raising the drapery like a sail so that we see the wet body in the light, en face, but with a rhythmic bend? The arrows of the cupids aim at the groups crossways and remove whatever feeling there might exist that the whole keeps moving round, their bows accentuate the picturesque effect and enhance all the luminous parts in the picture By adding the fourth small cupid upwards in the left-hand corner, Raphael finally changes the centrifugal movement of the cupids in relation to Galathea so that it is caused to float horizontally forming a trapezium (an oblique parallelogram) the predominant lines of which are level This fourth cupid is so insignificant that one scarcely takes any notice of it, but it renders the desired effect

To the same period as the first frescos in the Stanza d'Elodoro (1511—1512) we refer the only authentic Roman altar-piece by Raphael 'The Madonna of San Sisto' probably painted at the command of Julius II for the Benedictine monks of Piacenza It corresponds in colouring to the frescos of the Camera della segnatura, also as regards the drawing of the feet and hands it is related with those in these pictures, but judging from the historical circumstance that Piacenza did not come under the rule of Julius II until the Summer of 1512 and that the church of S Sisto for which the picture was painted was completed at that time, (1511), it is necessary to refer it to this later period

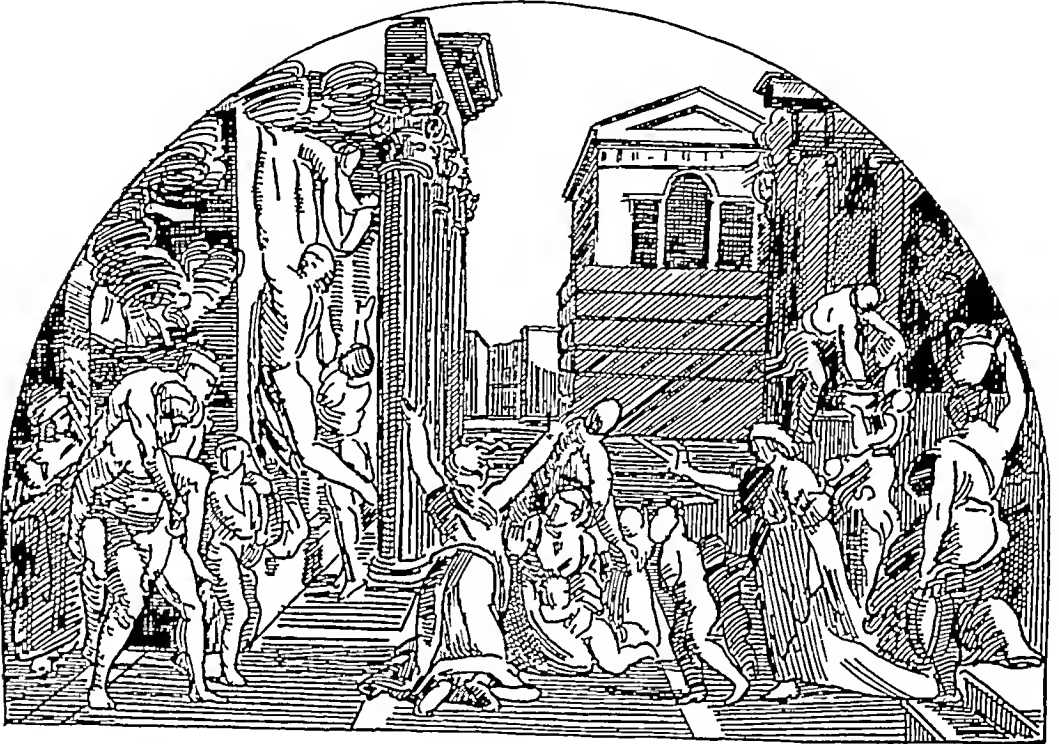
The composition is seen from the front as are the majority of the frescos, built up from the two sides towards the central figure, but from a different level, because the movement as regards the Pope commences from the tiara on a level with the communion table in the left-hand corner of the picture, whereas Barbara's movement begins higher up The axis is drawn across the child Jesus and the larger of the angels so that the left-hand side is dominated by the Pope alone, the right-hand side by the Madonna and Barbara together, a disposition which is more especially felt when we regard the picture reflected in a mirror At the same time Raphael thought that the curtains determined an inward plane in which we see the silhouettes of Barbara, the Madonna and of



the Pope, but in front of which the arm and the big left fold of the Pope's cloak reach another plane which is determined by his tiara and the angels. The upper part of the body of the Madonna seems to be more advanced than her feet as though she had a positive movement forwards, yet is held back by the perspective contrast to the Pope. From this originates the celebrated tarrying movement.

The colours are light and cool. The exterior of the Pope's cloak is yellow like dull gold brocade, inside it is red, the red colour is transmitted to the skirt of the Madonna while her dress is blue, her bodice wine-red and her veil grey. Barbara's sleeves vary between yellow and grey and blue. The curtains are dark green.

In the same direction as this succession of colours, the big slanting wing of the Pope's cloak can be first seen and his outstretched hand, behind which the garment lies in folds — what a remarkable motive is not this cloak taken as a whole! — Then we see the inward swinging right wing which forms two spacious lines crossing each other, the one continuing around the Pope's hand on his breast, the other bends backwards. From this arises — as with the transmission of colours — the motive of the backwards curved fold of the Madonna's dress at her feet and the continuing movement in the silhouette, answering to the big lateral curve of the silhouette of the veil and the contrasting curves of



the curtains. The motive of this part of the Madonna's figure is already to be found in the fresco of San Severo at Perugia. Any studies for 'The Sixtine Madonna' are not known, but from the same time probably originates the beautiful study for a Madonna with child at Chatsworth (1). 'The Madonna di San Sisto' is very different and far removed from Penni's 'Madonna di Fuligno'.

(1) plate 9

In 1514 Raphael was occupied with architecture and had to entrust the execution of the picturesque work to the pupils. Yet his genius is to be traced in some of these works. The fresco of 'The fire in the Borgo' in the Stanza dell' incendio is not, as was imagined a compilation of motives by Giulio Romano using studies by Raphael, but actually one of Raphael's compositions painted by Giulio Romano, yet later altered in respect to the background by Penni — this Dollmayr has accurately observed — probably because the Pope wanted to have the church of St Peter and the Vatican in the background of the picture. It is not difficult on comparing it with the cartoons of the tapestries to reconstruct the background so that a narrow strip of air could be seen behind the Corinthian columns and moreover some building or other which could shut out the scene in the background. It is the scenic uncer-

tainty of the background which now places the picture at such a disadvantage

The other pictures in the room are not by Raphael at all

However, the principal works of Raphael of this period are the four cartoons for the tapestries of the history of the apostles in the Sixtine chapel. They belong incontestably to the greatest works of art ever created, in them Raphael set his personality against Michelangelo's, showing here his dramatic genius

The four best of the cartoons, 'The miraculous draught of fish', 'Feed my sheep', 'The death of Ananias' and 'The sermon of St Paul at Athens',



each represent a determined style of composition, the first two are painted as a frieze, the others scenically, but in all of them the figures play a rôle as part of the space, the more they represent the dimension of space through the figural movement, the stronger is the spiritual expression felt, while on the contrary the delicate and quiet moment is given by the insertion in the form of a frieze. Raphael discloses the motives successively and attains thereby an irresistible power to increase expression

In 'The miraculous draught of fish' we learn the beginning and the end of the event by reading the picture from one end to the other. In the farthest of the boats two strong young men haul in the net, they are placed diagonally in a close group while an old river-god turning sideways, steers the boat with an oar. In front of them are two cranes, and above them the landscape with the multitude hastening to the edge of the sea, smooth as a mirror. In the other boat at the very end, close to the edge of the frame, Jesus sits in the prow as guest, the two apostles



move towards the direction of Jesus with increasing emotion, the one who is the farthest has risen and treads on the mass of fish whilst he wonderingly and adoringly outstretches his arms, St Peter in the middle has fallen on his knees and joins his hands in direct prayer. Above them and in connection with the head of the standing figure the pure horizon line can be seen and two flying ravens. Each of the earthly figures is thus accompanied by a bird and these accessories render the difference in the nature of the two boats. The cranes represent in a fantastic manner the rich catch in the water, the ravens impart remoteness. This cartoon is certainly the only one which has some of the real tapestry style and is withal remarkable for its great picturesque strength, with but few figures, and few landscape lines and thereof so much sentiment!

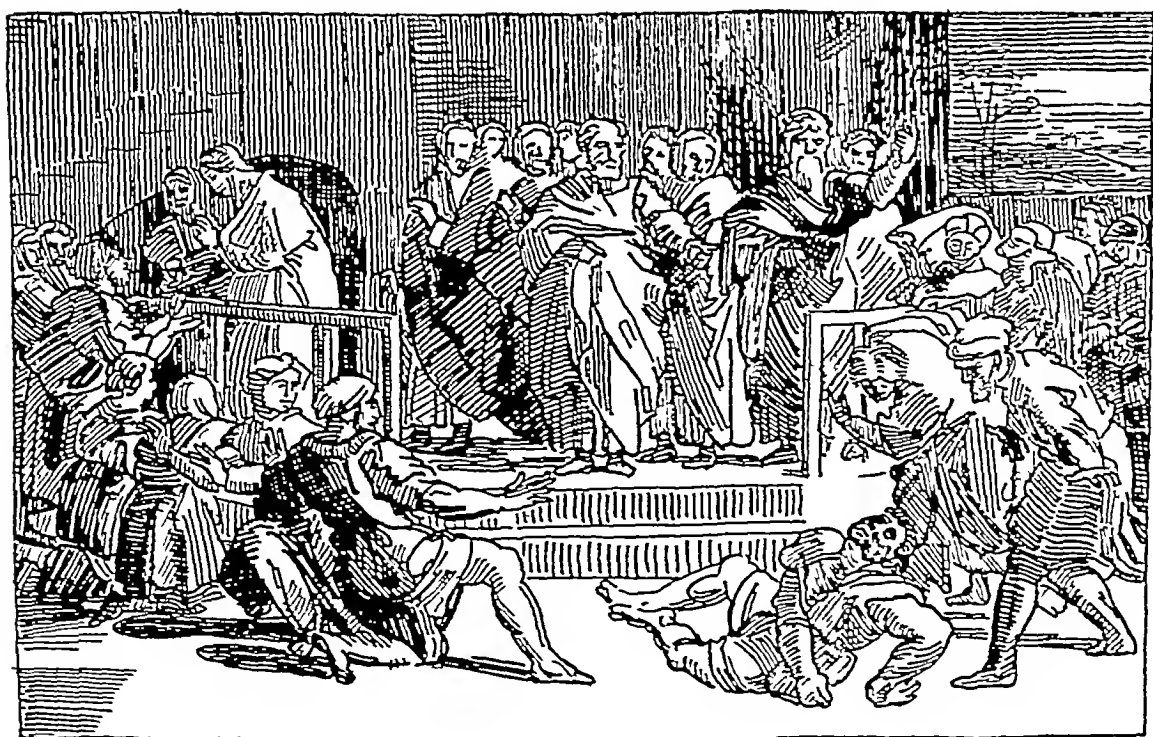
'Feed my sheep' is also composed as a frieze, but the figures stand firmly on the surface of the earth, on which their bodies throw shadows. The light falls in that direction in which the picture is read, in the direction of Jesus. The apostles turn their backs to the light, Jesus turns his side to it. Originally the apostles formed a phalanx with a figure at one end turning towards us. But the group dissolved itself successively, for while this figure at the corner stands calmly looking from a distance at Jesus, St John begins to move in the direction of Jesus, and St Peter detaching himself from the group throws himself on his knees. Separated from them Jesus stands with oblique arms pointing symmetrically and his strongly draped figure with light and shadow, forms sloping planes keeping balance with the group. The landscape rises slowly up attaining its greatest potency above Jesus. This picture, as it is commonly known, is composed after a celebrated fresco of Masaccio.

'The death of Ananias' In 'The Acts of the Apostles' chapters IV and V St Peter and St John gave to the poor, unto every man according as he had need, for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the money to the apostles. But a certain Ananias sold his possession and with his wife's knowledge kept back some of the money for himself. When he came with the rest and laid it at the apostles' feet, St Peter said to him 'thou hast not lied unto men but unto God, and Ananias hearing these words fell down and gave up the ghost and great fear came on all them that heard these things' — Raphael paints a court of justice with a podium in the background, where the apostles stand and where the goods are distributed on one side, while the gifts are brought in from the other side in the shape of sacks of corn or pieces of cloth. The scene in the middle of the foreground is open, here Ananias stood before he fell. He falls in broken spacious lines, while the young man balances the other side and withdraws terrified. St John and St Peter stand still at their places, but the axis of the scene is transferred through the fall of Ananias from one apostle to the other, so that it is no longer the apostle in the middle who is the principal figure, but the one who stands over Ananias showing darkly against the light and raising his arm. Simultaneously the man in the light who distributes the goods gets through the curved line on the other side an accent, so that the two halves of the picture are brought in correspondance.

We feel the succession of the movements as a gradual increase or decline of energy in the groups, ending on the one side in the peaceful scene depicting the distribution of alms with the elliptical arch in the back-



ground, on the other in the lighted backs of the bearing men and the peaceful square landscape view. Here Ananias's wife, Sapphira, comes in counting her money — All Raphael had learned in 'The school of



Athens' and 'Heliodorus' he used here, and he attained by the wisest division of the scene and contrasting effects, especially in the way the light falls in the composition, that the event is felt as being momentary and sinister. The motive that Ananias through his fall breaks out of the ring formed by the others around the apostles and the fact that he falls



in the shadow of those hastening forward, is masterly This picture in its whole composition is one of Raphael's best works

(1) see page 80

'The sermon of St Paul at Athens' (1) forms a further evolution of the motives of 'The fire in the Borgo' the principal figure is placed on a perspective platform of steps, speaking diagonally across to the semicircle of people while the scene closes on this side by dark architecture and in the background by a round temple (Bramante's Tempietto) which is opposed to the semicircle formed by the audience St Paul stands in the one focus of the scene while in the other stands a statue of Mars



with its back turned to us The light falls in the direction in which St Paul speaks and it strikes in broad surfaces the men listening in front of him, the others being in the shade St Paul himself is seen connected with the steps and with the architecture, his hands seem to grasp its lines as in a big harp The space enclosed on all sides seems to be present as a substance, obeying the same laws of equilibrium as a material body and possessing in itself monumental value Raphael has determined here artistically the spacious scenic effects as strongly as this possibly could be done

Although Raphael personally in the last years did not work in the art of painting beyond determining the principal outlines of the decorative compositions and drawing some typical works, which we conjecturally can point out, his relationship to the problem of the art of painting was on the contrary developing exceedingly The loss is certainly great that 'The transfiguration' which was to be his most important work from the year 1517 was not executed according to his original sketch but in a corrupted guise by Penni and his pupils (Battista Luteri?), for the result which may be arrived at by means of a



conjectural criticism obtained by effacing the share in the composition due to Penni and by strengthening and drawing together the real composition of Raphael, is in our opinion surprisingly imposing and quite in accordance with the tendency which the development of the barocco

art of painting took at that time. The small biblical picture 'Moses receiving the tables of laws' alone gives us presumably an authentic idea of this very style of Raphael's later years. In the present drawing I have endeavoured to reduce 'The transfiguration' to Raphael's style by withdrawing such figures that are plagiaries, as the kneeling woman in the foreground which originates from 'Heliodorus', and by assembling the figures from above and from below as in 'The Parnassus'. By means of these alterations the composition becomes more complete and more original and what is restless and commonplace disappears. Now it can be felt that the composition is related to 'The Madonna of San Sisto' by its great swing upwards in the left-hand side. It is a pity that Marcantonio did not make an engraving of the original drawing as was the case with St Cecilia.

To Albrecht Dürer much is due for this awakening of a new picturesque style although he is otherwise not considered as being a painter par excellence. As early as in the engravings of the Apocalypse, but more still in certain engravings and etchings from the year 1510—1515, 'Christ in the garden of Gethsemane' in 'The small Passion' (Bartsch 4) and engravings of the same subject (Bartsch 19) he makes use of depths in the space in a barocco picturesque manner, whilst applying the light in broad surfaces on the figures, he feels the simultaneous movement throughout the space as in stormy weather or lightning. See also the remarkable engraving of the angel holding out the napkin in the wind and in the dark, 1516 (Bartsch 26). — In a tradition from Pietro Aretino who had known Raphael at Rome, Raphael is said to have had Dürer's engravings hanging in his workshop and to have praised them greatly (1). This sounds probable, both as Dürer was then a renowned artist who stimulated the Italians by his Gothic heterogeneity, and because Raphael already through the subjects was keenly alive to the pathetic style. The Raphaelian pictures we speak of, may be regarded as transformations in great Italian style of corresponding motives from the north, and in 'The transfiguration', different to the plagiaries and abuses of the pupils — 'Madonna di Fuligno' compared with Dürer's Apocalypse, 'lo spasimo' compared with other northern compositions (2) — it is the great master's strength which we perceive, in the whole culmination of the motives, the picturesque spacious impulse and the great freshness of the secondary motive — the father with the lunatic boy.

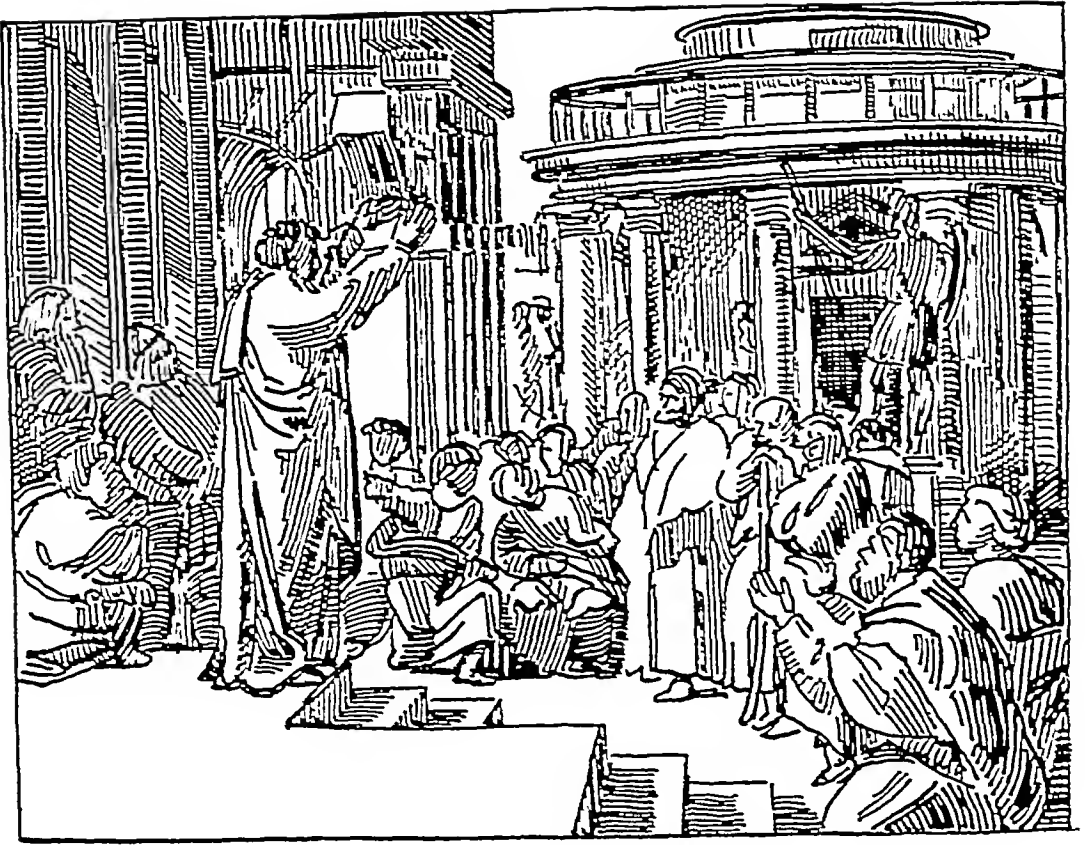
The essential in this barocco style, as we characterized it, is that all parts of the picture have to fulfil a function, no part can be separated from the whole without damage to the rest, but each part receives at the same time through its figural function an inspired life. The stretch of earth in the foreground of 'The transfiguration' gives depth, void, air, as contrast to the dark mound and the dark heaven, it marks the level while the glory shows the perpendicular. The sloping surface of the mound is felt more keenly when these two principal dimensions in the picture are maintained, and like these the other slanting planes in the figures can be likewise felt, or the melting together of the lying figures with the level surface of the mound. To each figure's motive of movement in connection with its melting together with, or in contrast to the spacious parts against which it is seen, answers an active

(1) Lodovico Dolce, Aretino 1557, ed Firenze 1735, pag 158

(2) see catalogue

or passive character, such as the rising expression of the three apostles on the mound seen from left to right. It can be felt in the whole composition as a common law, the picture impresses by its own strength when the beholder knows or guesses this law, when he can follow the movement of the persons as in a stream from below upwards and guesses the crosswise influence of the lateral motive. But human sympathy for the subject is likewise of assistance, in conjunction with the respect for the dimensions of this great style both for the masses, the heights — and in the voids, in the pauses. One can train one's eye to these phases of art. Perhaps it is easier to understand the importance of the empty level space in 'The sermon of St Paul' and the whole ensemble here. 'The transfiguration' was, also originally, a more difficult composition to understand.

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## RAPHAEL AS ARCHITECT AND ARCHAEOLOGIST

**R**APHAEL was not the first of the Italian painters who turned to architecture, Giotto built the Campanile of Florence. Raphael's teacher Bramante was originally a painter. Later especially Michelangelo showed how natural was the transition from plastic arts to architecture.

Raphael received his first impression of architecture from the palace of Urbino (built about 1460) the most renowned palace of that period, we find reminiscences of the arcades of the court in the architecture of the small temple in 'lo spozalizio' a picture from the year 1504 possibly painted by Penni, but which perhaps because of this detail, has a moment attributable to Raphael. In Raphael's early pictures architecture played, however, no part until in 'The massacre of the innocents' where the background with the Roman Pons Fabricius and the island in the Tiber seems as already mentioned, to have been drawn by means of a study from Ghirlandajo's hand. By taking up his abode at Rome Raphael came however, in contact with Bramante and his pupils especially Baldassare Peruzzi, and he must have got a great impression of the beauty of architecture by seeing with them the Roman Pantheon the Colosseum and all the other antique monuments. Bramante's own buildings which Raphael mentions in the memorial with due appreciation but not exaggerated admiration, had given the classical taste a secure hold. The 'tempietto' in S. Pietro in Montorio's court (1502) was a strict attempt to reconstruct an antique round temple in geometrically correct proportions.

— Raphael expressed his admiration for this small and delicate piece of work by representing it in the background of 'The sermon of St Paul at Athens' — The choir of Bramante in S Maria del Popolo (1509) (1) — an imitation of Florentine architecture of Leon Battista Alberti's style, cf Fra Filippo Lippi's frescos in the cathedral in Prato where precisely the same motive is found — was an example of the simple concentrated space effect of a barrel vaulted coffered ceiling with shell apse, the cloister-court in Santa Maria della Pace (1504) and the great Belvedere court and spiral staircase in the Belvedere at the Vatican (the latter from 1512) (2) were also very characteristic of Bramante's Roman style. From the year 1506 Bramante was supervisor of the building of St Peter's and in that quality the most influential architect of that period and consequently one with whom it was desirable to be on good terms. It seems that Raphael and Bramante were friends already from an early period, a fact which can be seen by Michelangelo having vehemently accused them of intriguing together against him (3). The result of this friendship was the architecture in 'The school of Athens' attributable to an inspiration of Bramante's church of St Peter, Vasari being of the opinion that Bramante had constructed it for Raphael (4) which is improbable by reason of its proportions. In the last years of Bramante's life, possibly from 1513, Raphael was initiated in the work of the architecture of the church of St Peter itself, and before Bramante's death in the Spring of 1514 seems to have designed a plan approved by him for the completion of the church.

It was long the universal opinion that Raphael as architect simply continued the work of the 'great' Bramante, an opinion which Heinrich v Geymüller (5) especially unjustly maintained, exaggerating Bramante's superiority. Against this theory, through the critical perusal of v Geymüller's work of the church of St Peter (6), a natural reaction followed which brought to light the fact that Raphael had a greater and more original insight of architecture, while Bramante rather lacked the decisive qualities for carrying through a plan on a large scale, this being one of the reasons why he 'hesitated' with the work on the church of St Peter, as was asserted by the contemporary historian Sigismondo de' Conti (7). Even in such a simple construction as the Belvedere court, no doubt after the model of the Roman terrace temple at Palestrina, unity of style was lacking, and not until later in the barocco period was it completed with the great and splendid niche (by Pirro Ligorio about 1560) wrongly attributed to Bramante (8), that Bramante's niche was totally different, one ought to have known from Serlio. In the plan of the church of St Peter, Bramante was brought to a standstill by uniting inharmoniously the central part with the length of the church and by the retention of a choir from an earlier plan — a choir which exteriorly showed as a disproportioned Doric building too closely thrust against the cupola, which may be seen on the study reproduced here, by Maerten van Heemskerck (about 1550) (9). In his project, the plan of which is known from Serlio, somewhat incorrect as to measurements, and which must be controlled by the actual measurements of the cupola pillars executed (10), Raphael abandoned this impossible compromise and devised a pure nave with a 'triconcha' construction round about

(1) *Doc. in Gaz des Beaux-Arts*, 1879 XIX, p 366

(2) *Frey Zur Baugeschichte I*, 119

(3) *Doc. LI and LIII*

(4) *Max Ermers in Zeitschrift für Gesch. der Architektur II*, 1909, p 131 (Vasari possessed the parchment plan of Bramante of the church of St Peter)

(5) *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für S Peter*, 1875

(6) *Dagobert Frey, Bramante Studien I*, 1914

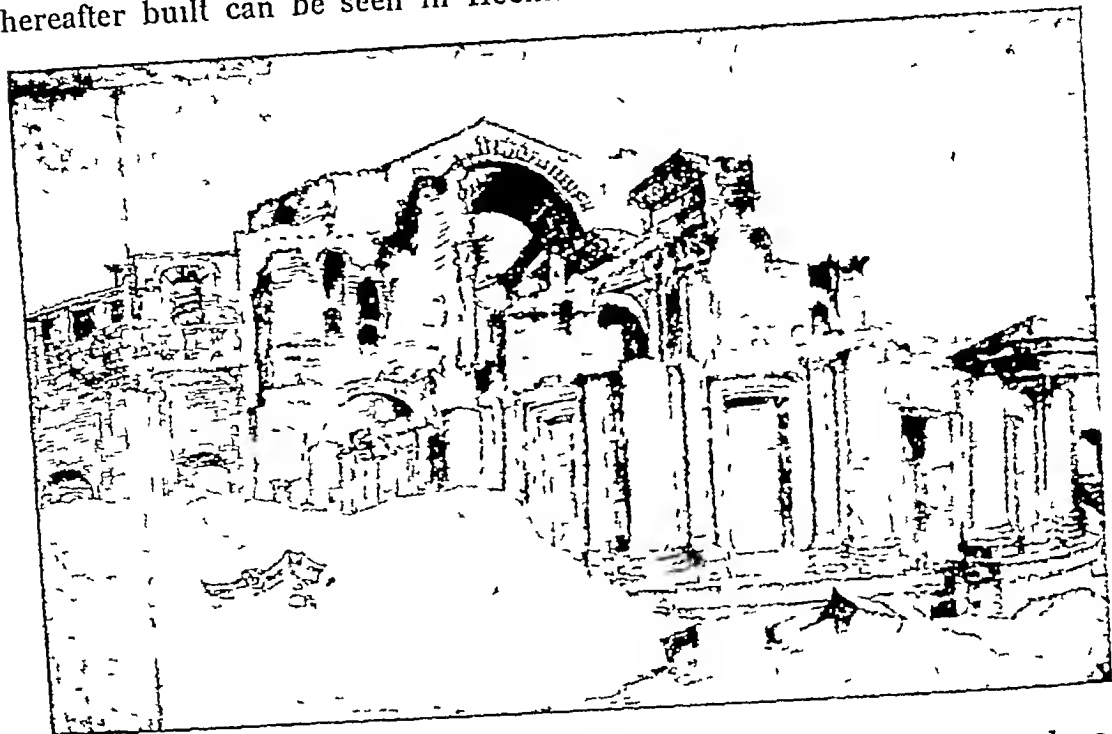
(7) *Historia sui temporis lib XIV*, 2. *Dagobert Frey*, p 70

(8) *Barckhardt, Der Cicerone*, 10 Aufl., 1910, p 278

(9) *Hermann Egger, Römische Veduten I*, 52

(10) *See the large plan by v Geymüller*, pl 45

St Peter's tomb Of this plan a model must have existed, but it was not known by Vasari, whereas it is mentioned by Serlio What Raphael hereafter built can be seen in Heemskerck's drawing which shows the



characteristic exterior motive of transept roundings with engaged columns (1) All was pulled down together with Bramante's choir in Michelangelo's time when the plan was reduced both on practical grounds and because stylistically it was altered from the extended to the more assembled plan

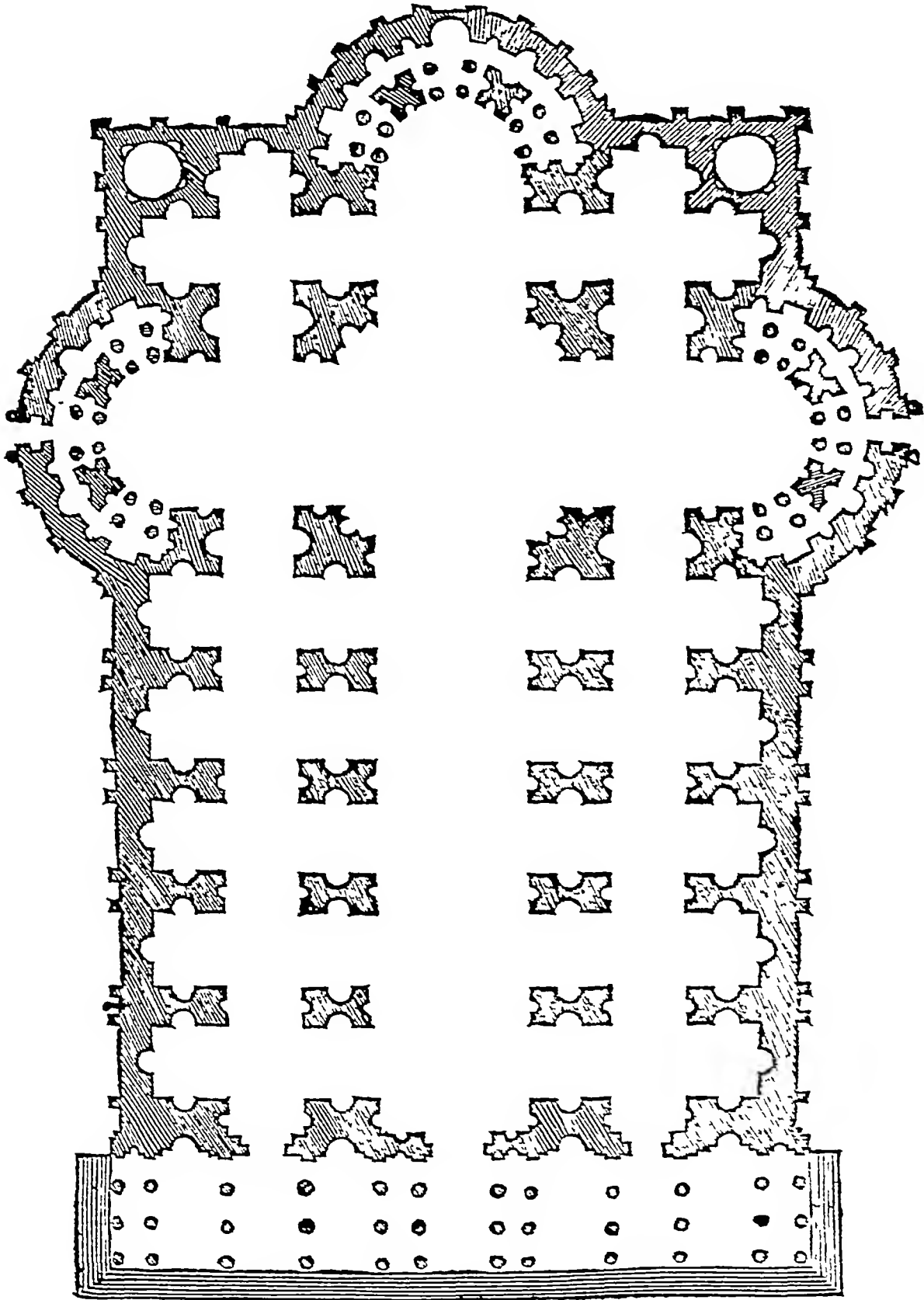
Raphael's successor as architect of the church of St Peter, Antonio da Sangallo the younger, later criticised sharply (1523<sup>9</sup>) Bramante's choir and nave, and Raphael's southern transept rounding (2), he especially complained that the nave would become too narrow and too dark, which he later tried to remedy by giving it an increased supply of light But his criticism was not justified, for now the symmetry of the church is not good and the light is too strong This criticised effect of the high and dark nave in contrast to the lighter cupola space must have been particularly what Raphael wanted, he who in his frescos and cartoons understood in such a strong manner how to express space by the contrasts with the surrounding (darker) masses, and who knew how human figures can fill the space, had a vivid imagination especially as regards this side of the question, as to the great dimensions of space, the enormous compass of the shadows, the distance across the church from one deep row of chapels to the other, so great that the flame of wax candles were as stars, overshadowed by the barrel vault of the dark coffered ceiling that logically was united in length and breadth by the double pillar system, a high one in the nave, a lower one in the side aisle and passages, and in the perspective effect of the cupola with the light streaming down through the columns of the tambour and the flickering light repeated in the apses, in the choir and at the end of the transepts! This effect can be guessed in Serlio's drawing of Bramante's cupola, but the totality is for ever lost — There are some un-

(1) See also two drawings by Antonio da Sangallo the younger, v Geymüller pl. 33

(2) Doc. LVII



solved problems in Raphael's plan by Serlio, more especially respecting the light in the side aisles Did the light stream at the sides over the chapel niches or were there cupolas over the intersections of the side



aisles and passages? From Serlio's drawing one would be tempted to believe that the nave and side aisle had the same pillar system thus being of about the same height: this could however, not be the case because the barrel vault of the transept would thus have been intersected by the somewhat smaller and lower barrel vault of the side aisles, if



these were not shut off by a partition wall, though according to the mediaeval form of the plan there would be some consistency in this, yet the idea must be abandoned. The entrance hall sets another difficult problem to solve, could this entrance which is indicated as a prodigious portico with rhythmically grouped columns, be constructed with a fronton, or had Raphael imagined a portico terminated by an attic continuing the architecture at the sides? An attempt at reconstruction of this Bramante-Raphael St Peter's church would be interesting, the material is in many ways well handed down, but in the whole effect and in the details still problematic, v Geymuller's attempt, (1) much praised in its day, was in the very character of the style absolutely a failure

(1) pl 14 and 16

While the work at the church of St Peter unfortunately gradually became a sinecure, Raphael built for Leo X the new loggie to the Damascus court. The period of construction is probably proved by a letter from Bembo to Bibiena on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1517 *di nuovo la loggia di Vostra Signoria si va edificando*. From the words of the text and the style of the structure we consider it as granted that these loggie are wholly Raphael's work, because he had made a model which Vasari seems to have known. The originality of this work lies in the purity and homogeneity of the architecture, and in the decoration of the third story in antique style. Raphael, for the form of the vault, choose the primitive art of vaulting over a quadrangular ground-plan, which he knew from the Roman Tabularium on the Capitole (cloistered vault), by means of which he could obtain well lighted roofs to paint on, thus we can read the whole series of vault paintings as in an illuminated manuscript. In the stucco decoration of the pillars etc he followed antique patterns on a larger scale, very characteristic in form, he allowed his pupils to take motives from anywhere, as we can see by Amelung and Weege's eminent publication (2). But for the decoration of the vaults, besides the antique, he also made use of barocco motives, developed through perspective architecture 'di sotto in su', as could for instance, be studied in Bramante's winding staircase with columns, Peruzzi was presumably the precursor here with his ceiling decoration in 'Sala delle colonne' in Villa Farnesina. The system of the strongest of the vaults, the second, became the type for Annibale Caracci's great and complicated system in the gallery of Palazzo Farnese. — The architecture of the interior walls is a parallel to Raphael's exterior architecture of the rounded choirs of the church of St Peter and is later repeated in a varied form in Palazzo Pandolfini. This architecture possesses a rich displacement of planes: the windows coming from a certain depth, reaching forward to a given plane, the gable projecting somewhat, on the contrary the window tabernacles rest on the elastic plinth which lies against the wall itself. This is the fully developed barocco style, but Raphael as yet makes use of this architecture sparingly, taking care that the effect in spite of all weight remains graceful, creating an equilibrium between depth and salient according to a central plane. He was forced to take this into consideration so that the loggie, as a whole, would impart the effect of lightness and not be weighed down inwardly by the composition of the tabernacle.

(2) Th Hofmann, Raphael in seiner Bedeutung als Architekt, IV volume.

Even where Raphael imitated antique architecture, he had thus his own

style, which was, taken on the whole, characteristic of the majority of the renaissance artists. The style of the loggie is comparatively slender and not exactly calculated to impress by its architectonic qualities, more so as the loggie were to contain the antique collection of Pope Leo X, thus in its day it must have been very showy in its whole effect.

In Palazzo Pandolfini in Florence (1517—1520) (1) Raphael uses the tabernacle window relief in relation to the surface of the wall from the motive of the altars in the Pantheon. The surfaces in the two stories are displaced from one another, and the function of the windows are adapted thereto. The windows below are held in surfaces with little relief, alone with heavy gables (and gratings), they grow out of the very low socle, perpendicularly determined. The windows in the upper story are in stronger relief, indeed the balconies project out of each of them — a motive from Bramante's Palazzo Caprini, the house where Raphael lived since 1517 — The whole is crowned by the great cornice, the height of which is a fourth part of that of the upper story.

(1) *Measurements and photographs of this building by Hofmann and better in v. Geymüller's Toscana work*

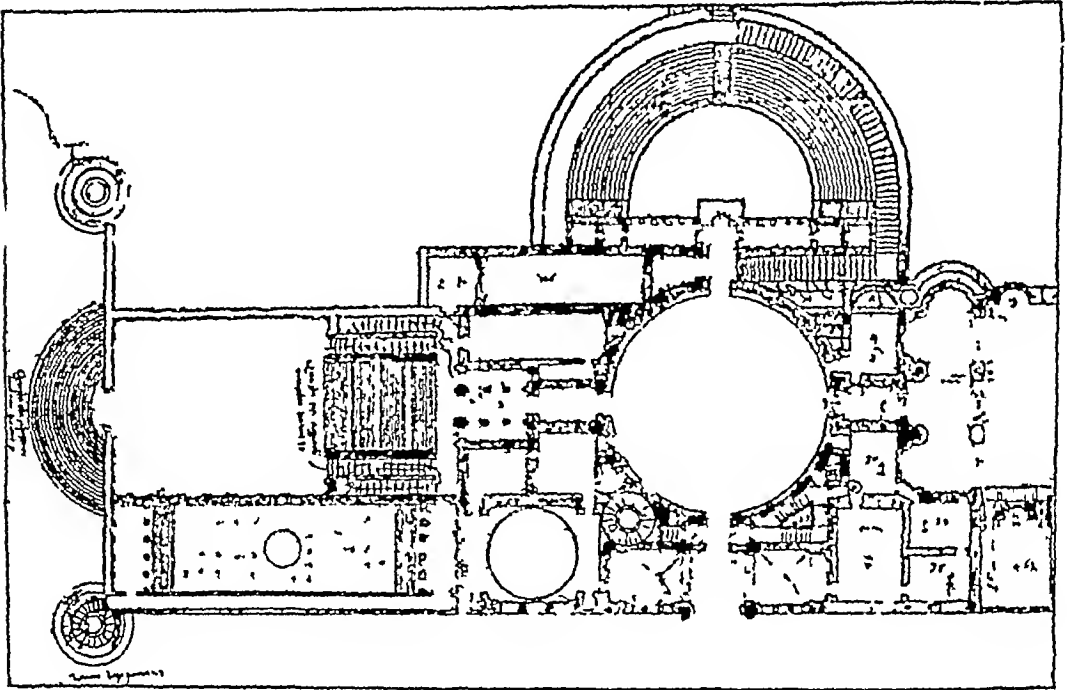
The composition of this palace denoted a break with the principles hitherto maintained, because the house is placed in the depth of the ground at right-angles to the street, the lower story continuing at a slight depth along it, and a mighty gate at the corner of the house forming the middle of the façade. This was contrary to all elementary rules of symmetry, but justifiable both because the palace is a 'Villa urbana' facing the sun with the principal side towards the south-west, and likewise because the house asserts itself in this manner as a cube, not only as a façade, and by the lengthening gets a new symmetry that as regards the lower story is absolute. One of the main points in the composition, besides the rôle of the gate in the ensemble, was how to complete the lower story. Here Raphael very ingeniously made use of the balcony motive to crown it and attained herewith to indicate, also in respect to the principal part of the house, that the division does not stop short in the string-course (with meander), but floats between it and the balconies. Thus again the displacement of the two stories manifests itself. How uninteresting would not the composition have been without these displacements of masses, and these harmonies, actually so easy to perceive, but the theoretical interpretation of which presents great difficulties, when all the motives are to be taken into consideration, all according to their reciprocal connection and degree of strength.

This building was imitated as late as the year 1570 in Palazzo Michetti at Lucca, which is attributed to Bartolomeo Ammannati (2), this is significant of its having been, as regards style, so far in advance of its own time.

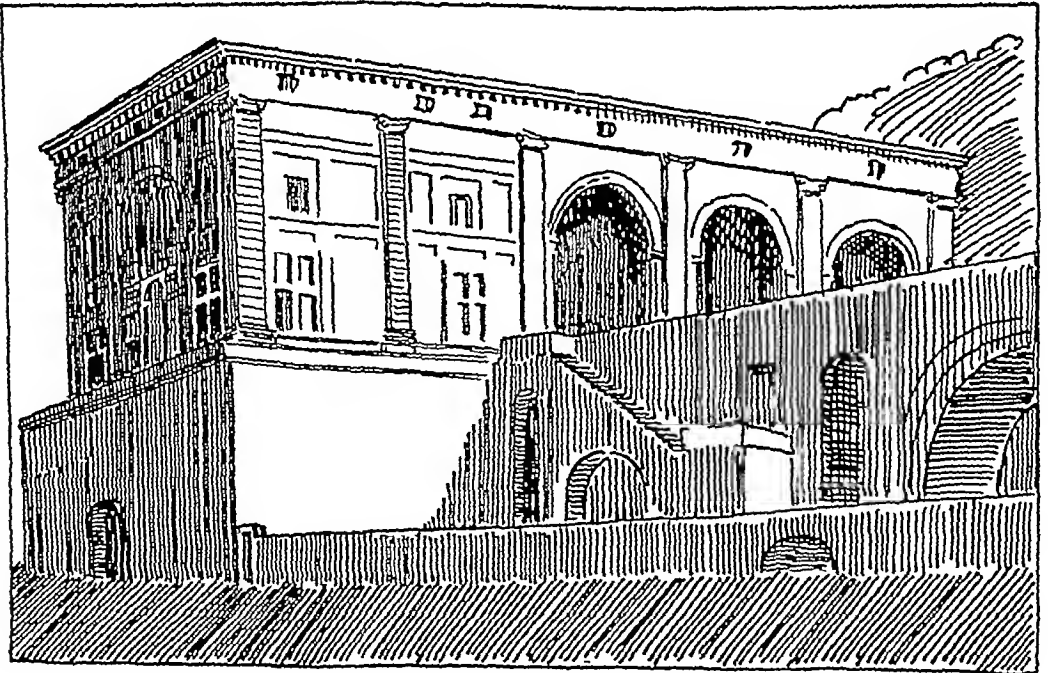
(2) *Gurlitt, Gesch. des Baustils in Italien, p. 179*

Villa Madama (originally Villa Medici) on Monte Mario, is composed after the same principle as Palazzo Pandolfini, for here too, the mass of the building projects across the longitudinal direction of the site, this is doubly felt now that only the half of the planned building was executed. The whole plan, here reproduced, is known from a drawing by Antonio da Sangallo the younger. The north part was alone executed (on the right in the plan) with the large loggia giving on the terrace and the half circular court on the south towards the town. As a fragment the building is remarkable both in its ground-plan and its erection, by the contrast of the quadrangular and the spherical, and in its strong cubical

external effect The ground-plan is related with the central parts of the antique *thermae*, but it accurately corresponds to the irregular position of the site, the main hall and the semi-circular court lying along the

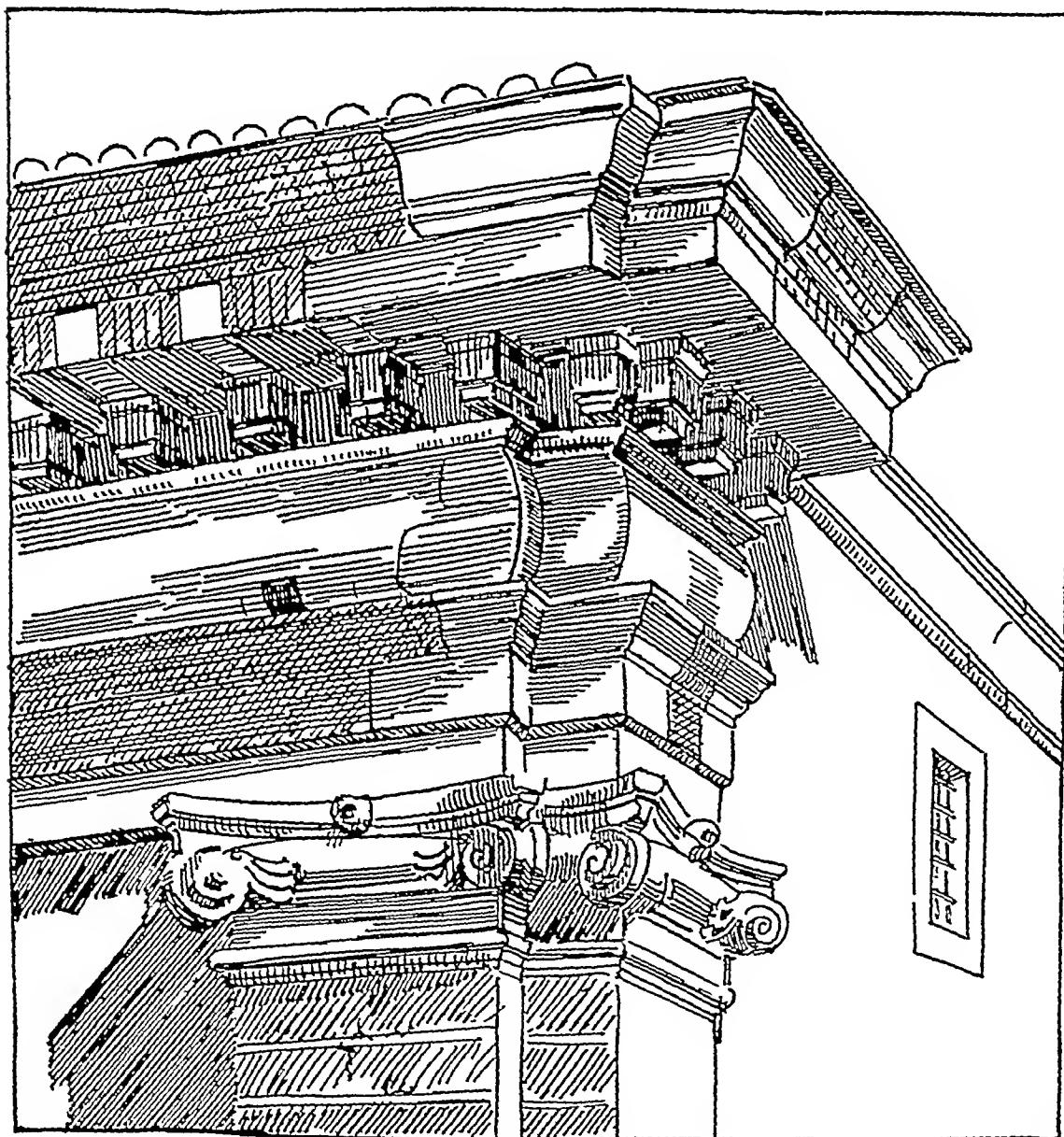


central axis of the terrace, whereas the living rooms fill the massive projecting eastern side, below these were the banqueting halls and in the intermediate story the private rooms of Cardinal Medici to which a



special staircase led (destroyed by fire in 1527) The north loggie and the passages are still well preserved, the last mentioned decorated (1525) by Giovanni da Udine It is difficult to judge how many of the details may be attributed to Raphael, yet I consider the pillars and the principal cornice to be his personal work This part possesses a great elasticity attained by very curious alterations in the antique motives, Raphael made

use of the cornice profile for completing not only the crown cornice, but also the architrave, and he gave the frieze the convex form which in the late antique architecture distinguishes the Corinthian style, and finally employed difference of material as an effect in connection with the consoles. This is better than the antique, for the active connection between the parts is more perfect, the forms not having lost any of their naturalness and distinctness, on the contrary, Raphael's Ionic capital compared with the model (Colosseum?) is more energetic



THE energy with which Raphael cast himself upon problems which interested him can be guessed from Costabili's letter (1519) wherein Raphael says that never before in his life he had learned so much perspective than by sketching the theatrical decorations for Cardinal Cibo's representation of Ariosto's 'i suppositi' at the Vatican, and perhaps for the open air scene of the castle of St Angelo. And even more we see this in his archaeological studies of which the memorial is the principal document. Raphael's intellect also manifested itself here, in sounding the ideas advanced from different quarters, partly the humanistic ones, regarding the Roman ruins as being reminiscences of the greatness of past times, Raphael possessing on this subject a paper by Poggio Bracciolini 'de fortunae varietate' (on the variableness of fortune) (1), and partly the topographic-architectonic ideas which all architects strived to realize in a more or less scientific manner, the best work performed at that time, were Baldassare Peruzzi's measurements known from Serlio's 'Architettura'. Raphael's historical and art-historical knowledge outvied all others in its righteous and yet enthusiastic idea, and his method for measuring the ruins marks the foundation of modern archaeology. (A previous experiment of this kind by Leon Battista Alberti (2), the mapping of the walls of ancient Rome with lines of bearings, taking the Capitolium as centre, reminds faintly of Raphael's method of measuring with compass and astrolabium, but was scarcely known to him). The purpose was, above all else, to obtain an exact reconstruction of the buildings and walls of ancient Rome in regions, beginning with region I 'Porta Capena' also including Caracalla's thermae, secondly, in the interest of the public, to reproduce a large map of the whole of ancient Rome in bird's eye perspective, similar to the antique and mediaeval town maps, and by Fulvio it was asserted that Raphael 'some few days before his death' painted such a map.

We will now beg our readers themselves to peruse the memorial in the translation rendered, together with the notes to the text in so far as these contain archaeological, not only philological matter. (The introduction preceding the original text, rendering the traditions and discussing the authenticity of the writing is not necessary for the understanding, yet the parallel found in Vasari is very enlightening in respect to the great importance of the memorial as a purely art-historical work, a fact which Vasari acknowledged openly, here too we see Raphael as the protagonist of the barocco period.)

The first part of the memorial refers to the greatness of Roman art and to the devastations of the barbarians, which was continued by the modern marble diggers, a scandal of the present age, and addresses an appeal to the Pope to put a stop to it, at the same time the author undertakes to draw ancient Rome on the basis of the topographical writings and by means of methodical measurements. First he wants to explain the difference between the antique and the modern buildings and the discernment of the different ages in the antique, hereby he gets the opportunity to show how remarkably durable was the antique architecture, whilst the artistic decadence first manifested itself in literature, sculpture and painting — it was this observation which Vasari admired and imitated

(1) see the end of the introduction to the memorial

(2) *Descriptio urbis Romae* (about 1433), *Opera inedita* ed. Mancini, Florence 1890, p. 36 sq., compare Alberti, *de re aedificatoria* V, 6

— also the topographical knowledge is excellent, as when he says ‘Although many times many buildings have been restored by the ancients themselves, as when one reads, that on the same site where the golden house of Nero stood, were built later the *thermae* of Titus and his house and amphitheatre, yet these were built in the same style and after the same principles as the other buildings which were still older than Nero’s time or contemporaneous with the golden house’ Raphael also made accurate observations of the barbaric style in the mediaeval towers with their cosmat-ornamentation ‘they broke the marble into small square pieces and walled with this mixture the division of the walls, as we see it in our days on the so-called *Torre delle milizie*’ He attacks the Gothic style violently, but chivalrously, understanding as he does that there is a principle in that style although it lacks taste and although it is weaker constructively This argument is of interest because it shows the voluntary use of a mathematical instead of a static theory of equilibrium The round arch, says Raphael, will according to mathematical laws bear more than the pointed arch because all its lines (radii) are assembled in one centre, whereas the lines of the pointed arch are assembled in two centres Raphael thus imagined that the bearing power of a round arch is as a tension of strength from one single centre, not reckoning with the weight of the stones of the arch, which in proportion weigh down the round arch more than the pointed arch He likewise gives an aesthetic theory of the same sort ‘the eye is better pleased by the perfection of the circle, one sees also that nature seeks no other form’ — In the second part of the memorial Raphael explains the method for a scientific measuring of the ruins He begins by describing the instrument he uses (*astrolabium*) and he says that the use of it, as far as it is known by him, has not been referred to before, not even by the ancients (1), (*Alberti’s instrument which is mentioned in his ‘Descriptio urbis Romae’ was differently divided and lacked a compass*) After a very detailed explanation of the method of surveying, Raphael passes to the architectonic drawing of a building in plan, façade and section, and he immediately makes the just observation that the plan of a building should be viewed horizontally, which to us is an unnecessary observation, but at that time was quite a new idea The Greeks and Romans did not, as far as we can see, possess this clear conception, for the ground-plan Vitruvius uses the Greek word ‘*ichnographia*’ which means the art of tracing, the impression of a house, and for buildings lying on a flat field he has the expression ‘*plano pede*’ (on flat foot), but thereof he did not form a notion of the horizontal plan which after the deficient conception of level and horizon of the ancient teachers of perspective was very difficult to form Neither does Raphael utter the thought directly, though he understood thoroughly what it meant, even though he finally, as a sort of concession to the readers, uses the comparison with the foot-print It was characteristic of the development of the conception of space that the definition of the vertical dimension was understood much earlier than the definition of the horizontal dimension because of the use of the plumb line, the corresponding levelling instrument *dioptra* (*astrolabe*) made the horizontal dimensions equally clear Finally Raphael gives an account of projective drawing, saying that the actual measurements and

(1) For the methods of the Greeks see M. Schöne, *Die Dioptra des Heron*, *Jahrb d. Archæol. Inst.* XIV, 1899 p 91

not the apparent ones must be sought and drawn in the correct projection 'For even if the measurements (in the façades) when drawn over a round or square plan may sometimes become foreshortened or diminish, they are quickly found in the drawing of the plan And those which are foreshortened in the plan, such as vaults, arches and 'triangles' are complete in the elevation plan Therefore it is always needful to have the correct measurements at hand in span, feet, inches and lines, up to the least of divisions' It is therefore apparently inconsequential when he says that 'in such (façade) drawings one must not diminish on the exterior, even if the building is round, nor try to show the two sides if it is square', for a drawing in projection of a round building must necessarily in the external forms be compressed and diminished This must denote that Raphael here disapproved of the free-hand drawings measured by eye, 'the measures that seem, but are not' (1) and demanded that all the façades would be exposed in plan, but did he want to carry this through in practice, as thereby the projective connection between the plan and the façade would be lost? We cannot judge of this, as the drawings are missing

(1) see the note  
to this part of  
the memorial

A work with such strict measurements did not see the light before the 17<sup>th</sup>—18<sup>th</sup> century, but it is clear that both Serlio and Palladio have worked in Raphael's spirit We can say with perfect right, that the memorial on the Roman ruins founded the archaeology of a new era both in its artistic views and its technical method

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## THE MEMORIAL

‘THEY are many, Holy Father, who measure with their weak judgment the great things written about the army of the Romans and about the marvellous art and richness of the city of Rome and about the decoration and greatness of the buildings, and regard it rather as a fabulous tale. But for me it is quite otherwise. For when I consider the ruins of Rome, I feel such a divine strength in these reminiscences, and I do not consider it incredible that much, which seems to us impossible, was very easy for the ancients. Therefore as I have been diligent in the study of these antiquities and bestowed no small pains in seeking them out minutely and in measuring them diligently, and as I continue to read the good authors and compare the buildings with their descriptions, I think, I have obtained some knowledge of antique architecture. This has given me, in one respect, the greatest joy to have learned so many excellent things, but in another the greatest sorrow, to see the ancient noble city almost as a corpse, which was once the queen of the world, so miserably lacerated. For if each of us owes piety to his parents and to his native country, I feel obliged to put forth all my puny strength, to the best of my ability, to awaken to life some idea, even if only a shadow, of this truly universal fatherland of all Christians, which once was so noble and mighty, that all people began to believe, that it alone under heaven was raised above all vicissitudes of fortune and in contrast to the natural course of things was exempt from death and destined to exist perpetually. Therefore time seems to have become envious of the glory of mortals and having no full confidence in its own strength to have associated itself with Fortuna and with the profane and criminal barbarians, who to the consuming file and poisonous bite of time have added the ungodly fury of iron and fire, so that these famous works which to day more than ever would have been flourishing and beautiful were burnt and devastated by the cruel strength of these malign men, as were they wild beasts, yet not so thoroughly but that the core of the whole is still standing, but without ornaments (if one could say so) the bones of the body without flesh. But why do we lament over the Goths and Vandals and over other such perfidious enemies of the Latin name, when they, who are fathers and tutors, and who should defend those poor relics of Rome, themselves with great energy already long, have endeavoured to destroy them. How many Popes, Holy Father, had the same office as Your Holiness, but not the same knowledge, the same strength and greatness of spirit, how many Popes, I say, have not permitted the ruin and demolition of antique temples, statues, arches and other buildings, the glory of their founders, how many have not tolerated the excavation of the foundations alone for the digging of pozzolana earth? Thus in a short time the edifices fell to earth! How much lime has not been made of statues and of other antique ornaments, so that I venture to say, that this new Rome, which one sees in our days as great as it is, as beautiful, embellished with palaces, churches and other buildings, is built with lime made from the antique marbles. Not without much sorrow I remember, that



since I have been in Rome, which is not yet 12 years, many beautiful things have been ruined, such as 'la Meta', which was in via Alexandrina, the arch, which was at the entrance of the thermae of Diocletianus, and the temple of Ceres on the via Sacra, a part of the foro Transitorio which, a few days since, was burnt and destroyed, and the marble (statues) made to chalk, the greater part of the Basilica del foro ruined, besides so many columns overturned and broken in the middle, so many architraves, so many beautiful decorations broken in two, that it is a disgrace to the period, which has tolerated this, and that it really could be said, that Hannibal, for not to speak of the others, would have been converted. Thus, Holy Father, it must not be the last thought of Your Holiness to take care of the few remains of this antique mother of the glory and name of Italy, testifying to those divine spirits, whose memories exalt and encourage to virtue those, who now live among us, and not to be altogether obliterated by the malign and ignorant, so much more as injury has been done to those spirits, who with their blood have brought so much honour to the world and to their fatherland and to us, but we pray Your Holiness to act quickly and to retain the comparison with the ancients alive, to be as them, and to surpass them, as it is already done by the erection of great buildings, by the nourishment and favour shown to talents, the awakening of genius, the rewarding of talented work, and by spreading the seed of holy peace among Christian princes. For while the calamity of war destroys all science and art, peace and concord yield felicity and rest to the nations which then can work anew and attain the summit of perfection. For it is through the divine counsel and authority of Your Holiness that all hope it (peace) will come to pass in our century. Thus it is surely to be the most clement Pastor and best Father of the whole world. But to return to what I said before, a short time since, Your Holiness has charged me to draw ancient Rome as much as can be recognized of what still can be seen to-day of edifices partly preserved and scientifically to reduce them to their former appearance as they stood, and to reconstruct the parts which are quite in ruin, or which no longer can be seen, in accordance with those which stand and can be seen. Therefore I have used all my diligence as far as possible to please Your Holiness and all the others, who delight in our labour, that it should be without confusion and satisfactory to all. Though I have extracted from many Latin authors what I intend to demonstrate I have principally chosen Publius Victor, as he belongs to the youngest and gives the most important information of the latest buildings, though I have not neglected the ancient, and it can be seen that his description of the regions is in accordance with some antique marbles on which these are drawn.

And because it might appear difficult to some one or other to distinguish the antique edifices from the modern, and the most ancient from the less ancient, and to leave no doubt in those who would gain this knowledge, I desire to say that this can be obtained with but small trouble. Because three styles of edifices only are to be found in Rome, the one was the good antique which lasted from the first emperors to the time when Rome was ruined and destroyed by the Goths and the other barbarians, the other lasted as long as Rome was dominated by the

Goths and hundred years more, the third from that time until our days. The edifices now modern can be easily recognized because they are new and have not yet attained that perfection nor that immense costliness which we see in the antique. Yet, in our days, architecture has very much revived, and has been reduced approximately to the style of the antique as can be seen from many fine works of Bramante, though the ornaments are not of such precious material as those of the ancients, who at infinite cost created the effects which they imagined and by their will alone vanquished all difficulties. Then the edifices from the Gothic period are quite deprived of grace without style at all, differing from the antique and from the modern. Thus it is not difficult to recognize those (buildings) of the time of the emperors which are the most perfect, made in the most beautiful manner, with greater costliness and art than all the others. And these alone we intend to demonstrate and there is no need for any one to doubt that among the antique edifices the earlier should be less beautiful, less understood and of another style (than the older). Because they were all of one principle. Although many times many buildings have been restored by the ancients themselves, as when one reads that on the same spot where the golden house of Nero stood were built later the *thermae* of Titus and his house and amphitheatre (*Colosseum*). yet these were built in the same style and after the same principles as the other edifices, which were still older than Nero's time or contemporary with the golden house. And though literature, sculpture and painting and nearly all the other arts slowly fell into decay and got worse towards the period of the last emperors, architecture observed and maintained its good principles and built in the same style as previously, thus among the other arts it was the last to perish, this can be recognized in more than one case, among others in the arch of Constantine, the composition of which is beautiful, and well made in all that concerns architecture. But the sculptures of the same arch are without taste and art, or any good design. Those (sculptures) which are of (the arches of) Trajanus and Antoninus Pius are excellent, and of perfect style. The same is to be seen in the *thermae* of Diocletianus that the sculptures from his time are in the worst style and badly executed and the remains of paintings which can be seen, have nothing in common with those from the period of Trajanus or Titus, and yet the architecture is still noble and well understood. But after Rome was wholly ruined and destroyed by the barbarians, it appeared that this fire and misery of ruin, burned and ruined together with the edifices also the art of building. When now the fortunes of the Romans changed so much that instead of infinite victories and triumphs, calamity and misery of servitude made its entry, as did it not befit those who were subjugated and made to serve others to live in such a manner and in such luxury as they had done when they themselves had subjugated the barbarians. suddenly, together with fortune, the manner of building and living changed and it was a contrast as far removed from the other as servitude is from liberty and reduced to a style conforming to their misery, without art or measure or any grace. and it seemed that the men of that time together with the empire had lost all talent and art and had become so ignorant that they did not even

know how to make tiles or other sorts of ornaments, they scraped the antique walls to recover the tiles therefrom, they broke the marble in small square pieces and walled with this mixture the division of the walls as we see it in our days on the so-called 'Torre delle milizie' And thus they continued, for some time, with this ignorance which can be seen in all things from their time, and it appeared that 'this atrocious and cruel storm of war and destruction did not only pass over Italy but it extended also to Greece where lived in former times the inventors and perfect masters of all arts, while here also arose a style of painting and of sculpture and architecture quite bad and valueless Then commenced almost everywhere the German style of architecture to appear, as still can be seen in the ornaments which are very far removed from the fine style of the Romans and the ancients who around the core of the edifice had the most beautiful cornices, friezes, architraves, columns, capitals and bases, and on the whole all the ornaments of a perfect and beautiful style And the Germans, whose style still persisted in many places, used as ornaments one or other twisted figure badly made, and even a more badly conceived corbel to sustain a balk, or fabulous animal, figure or foliage without taste This architecture may certainly contain some principle, inasmuch as it originates from trees, not yet stripped, which when the branches are bowed and bound together form the pointed arch And though this invention is not quite to be depreciated, still it is weak, because the hut made of beams joined together with a (middle) beam, ridge and roof covering, such as described by Vitruvius as being the origin of the Doric order, would hold together much better than the pointed arch which has two centres, moreover the round arch sustains much more according to the laws of mathematics, as all its lines converge to one centre only In addition to this weakness, the pointed arch has not that grace to the eye which is better pleased by the perfection of the circle it can be seen that nature does not seek another form But it is not necessary to talk of Roman architecture in order to compare with the barbaric, because the difference is very perceptible, neither is it necessary to describe their order which is excellently done by Vitruvius It is enough to know that the edifices of Rome quite up to the time of the last emperors were always built with a good architectonic principle, and were always in accordance with the more antique, thus there is no difficulty at all in distinguishing them from those which were from the time of the Goths and still many years after, because these were almost diametrically opposed, neither (to distinguish them) from our modern buildings if by no other means than because they are new which makes them very recognizable

Now that we have sufficiently explained which antique edifices of Rome are those we desire to demonstrate, so that it will be easy to recognize them from the others, it rests for us to give an account of the manner we have used for measuring and drawing, so that those who wish to devote themselves to architecture may know how to execute the one and the other without error, and understand that the drawing of a certain work is not arrived at by chance, but alone by practice and by actual principle And as I have not seen until our days this manner of measuring with a magnetic needle (1) as we use, described,

(1) The invention of the mason's compass was due to Flavio Gioja from Amalfi in the beginning of the 14 century

nor have I learned anything of this from the ancients, I assume that it is a modern invention. Therefore it seems reasonable to me to instruct diligently those who do not know this method. An instrument shall thus be made round and flat as an astrolabe, the diameter of which would be of two palms (1), somewhat bigger or somewhat smaller as it pleases him who desires to use it. The circumference of this instrument we will divide in eight equal parts and name each of these parts after the eight winds, and again divide them in thirty two other small parts which are named degrees. Then a straight line will be drawn from the first division which points to the north through the centre of the instrument to the circumference where this line opposite to the first northern degree shows the first southern. In the same way we draw from the circumference another straight line which passing through the centre intersects the line of the south and the north and forms in the centre four right angles, showing at the lowest side of the circumference the first eastern degree, on the other side the western degree. The space between these lines which form the said four principal directions, gives the other four collateral zones which are, north-east, south-west, north-west and south-east, while their place is determined in the same manner as with the others by means of four straight lines, and these shall be described in the same degrees and in the same way, as it is said of the others. When this is done, one must adjust an iron pin with a fine point vertically in the centre where the straight lines intersect each other and balance thereon the magnet, as it is done in a sun-dial which one sees every day. Then the container of the magnetic needle is closed with a lid of glass or very fine and transparent horn, but in such a manner that it does not touch or impede its movement, but protects it against wind. Then we fix also an index, so that we, with the help of this instrument, not alone can read the opposite winds, but also a voluntary degree on the circumference of the astrolabe. This index is called diopter. And it must be so adequately attached that it can be turned as required while the instrument itself remains firm. Thus with this we can measure every sort of edifice, of whatever form, whether round or square, with irregular (strani) corners, or voluntary projection. And the method is, that one places the instrument where one desires to measure, fairly flat so that the magnet may point in its direction, and held close to that wall which one wishes to measure, as close as the circumference of the instrument permits. In this position one holds the instrument while one turns it (around its axis), until the magnet is on the line of the north. When the needle is well adjusted, then the diopter can be turned with a ruler of wood or brass precisely in the direction of the wall, the street or whatever other thing one desires to measure, holding the instrument firmly, so that the needle retains its northerly direction, it can then be seen in which zone and for how many degrees the wall stretches itself. This length is measured with a measuring-rod ('scale') in cubits or palms, to the end of the line where the diopter points in a straight line, and these numbers must be noted down, so many cubits and so many degrees east or south-east and whatever it may be. If the diopter can no longer serve in its pointing out the straight line, then it must be moved, beginning the measurement of the

(1) the Roman  
palm=0,223 m

new direction there where the measured distance ended After the diopter has been adjusted, the degrees of the zones can be observed as before, and also the length until the circuit of the whole building has been made We think that this is enough to explain the measuring, though the height must also be determined, which is easily done by a quadrant, also the centre of round edifices can be found from a segment as Euclides teaches us in his third book

In the manner thus described we have measured and noted down the lengths and directions in so or so many rods or spans, and so or so many degrees of wind directions To draw the whole more easily it is convenient to have a piece of paper of the form and size of the magnetic case, divided precisely in the same way, into degrees, which can be used as I shall demonstrate One takes thus a piece of paper on which the edifice one has measured is to be drawn, and first one draws on it a line pointing to the north and serving as principal line, then one takes the paper with the copy of the compass to serve as measure, and it is directed in such a manner that the northern line of the drawn copy covers the principal line on the paper on which the edifice is to be drawn One searches then on the measuring paper the annotated number of cubits and degrees of zones in which the wall or road which is to be inserted extends And then one finds the same number of zones on the copy of the compass, the northern line of which must not change its position over the principal line of the drawing, and under this angle a straight line is drawn to the centre of the copy and is also inserted in the drawing Then one finds how many feet length there actually are in that direction and one inserts then so many small feet in reduced scale on that line of degree, thus when one looks along a wall of thirty feet in length with six degrees easterly deviation, then one measures thirty feet and inserts them in the direction drawn If one continues thus a great facility can be attained in the practice And it will be as a drawing of the ground-plan and a reminder for the drawing of all the rest

And because this manner of drawing is more for architects, and is different from that of painters, I wish to state what seems to me necessary for the correct understanding of the measures, and for knowing how to find all the parts of the edifices without error Thus the drawings of edifices, belonging to architecture are divided into three sorts, of which the first is the plan, or I should say the plane drawing, the second is the outer wall with its ornaments, the third is the inner wall with its ornaments The plan is that space which comprises the whole surface whereupon is to be built, or I should say the drawing of the foundation of the whole edifice when it has reached the surface of the earth And even if this space is in the height of mountains it must be reduced to a plan and let the line of the base of the mountain be plane and situated in a plan which is parallel to all the plans of the edifice (horizontal plan) For this reason one must take the straight line through the base and not the curve of the height of the mountain, so that all the walls of the edifices are according to the plumb-line and perpendicular, and this drawing is called, as already said, the (ground) plan, so that this (ground) plan occupies the space of the foundation of the whole edifice

just as the (ground) plan of the foot occupies the space which is the foundation of the whole body. When the (ground) plan is drawn divided into its different parts with their breadth, be they round or square or of any other form, one must draw a line in the breadth, always using the reduced scale of the base of the whole edifice (1) and from the centre of this line draw another straight line which forms with it both from one side and from the other two right angles, this line must be the middle line of the edifice. From the two extremities of the line of breadth two parallel lines will be drawn perpendicular to the line of the base, and these two lines must be as high as the edifice, so that they render the height of the edifice. Then between these two extreme lines which give the height, the measurements of the columns, pilasters, of the windows and the other ornaments can be taken. When these have been inserted in the half of the (ground) plan which represents the façade of the edifice (2), while the whole is always drawn from each point of the extremity of the columns, pilasters, niches, or whatever it may be, parallel with the two external lines, so can also the transversal height be drawn of the bases, the columns, capitals, architraves, windows, friezes, cornices and such like. Also this is to be drawn with lines parallel to the line of the plan of the edifice (3). And in such drawings one must not diminish on the extremities (side façades) even if the building is round or square, to show the two façades. For the architect cannot take the correct measurement from the foreshortened line, which is necessary in this profession which seeks the accurate measurement in reality drawn with parallel lines, and not those which seem to be but are not (4). For even if the measurements, when they are drawn over a round or square plan may sometimes become foreshortened or diminished, they are quickly found in the drawing of the plan. And those which are foreshortened in the plan such as vaults, arches and 'triangles' are complete in the elevation plan. Therefore it is always needful to have the correct measurements at hand in span, feet, inches or lines up to the smallest of the divisions. The third part of these drawings are those which we have mentioned under the name of inside walls with their ornaments. This part is not less necessary than the two others and is drawn in the same manner from the plan with parallel lines as the façade. It shows the half of the building from the inside, as were it divided in the middle, shows the court, the corresponding height of the cornice outside with the things inside, the height of the windows, the doors, arches and vaults, barrelvaults, crossvaults, or of what description they are. Thus with these three orders or methods one can survey minutely all the parts of an edifice both on the outside and on the inside. This way we have followed and adhered to as shall be seen in the course of this our work. And to understand this yet more clearly we have drawn here below one single edifice designed by these three methods.

(1) compare Vitruvius VI, 11 *aedificia quae plano pede instituuntur* Paulo Jovii Raphaelis *Urbinais Vita descriptis in plano pedali situ ventorumque lineis*

(2) compare 'la metà, dello edificio di dentro' Meant the (foremost) part of the plan to the end of the line of construction, respectively outside and inside façade, 'la metà dinanti della pianta', cannot be translated to 'die horizontale Mittelinie' (Vogel, p. 25)

(3) 'la linea del piano' is at the same time the foremost line of the ground-plan and the base of the line of the façade compare Serlio 'linea piana dalla quale nascono tutte le cose' (*Architettura, Lib II, fol. 1*) Vogel translates correctly to 'Die Grundlinie des Gebäudes'

(4) Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXIV, 65

(In the manuscript of Munich follows a writing in another hand and on other paper, dealing with buildings drawn in perspective and the antique order of columns, which is both less personal and cannot agree with the foregoing, where one is especially warned against perspective expositions.)

## RAPHAEL'S NAME IN HISTORY

**W**HEN Raphael died Marcantonio Michiel wrote 'His spirit has certainly gone up to contemplate the heavenly buildings, which are not exposed to devastation but his memory and his name will stay here on earth in his works and live long in the soul of all good people

Though we cannot accuse posterity of lack of piety Raphael's intellectuality was soon misunderstood To begin with architecture and archaeology he maintained in the tradition the honour of having built the Loggie and Palazzo Pandolfini but it was forgotten that he had been the chief architect of the church of St Peter, and Villa Madama was attributed to Giulio Romano On the other hand several Roman palaces which he did not build were attributed to him Palazzo dell' Aquila, Palazzo Bresciano and Palazzo Vidoni, together with the palace of Bramante where he himself lived and worse still when tradition made Palazzo dell' Aquila his own palace built by Bramante The memorial of the Roman ruins was known by Vasari under Raphael's name (about 1550) and was used by him in the art historical preface of his own work, but it was not mentioned in the biography any more than were Raphael's archaeological interests and from the year 1584 it was attributed to Count Castiglione in whose archives a version of it was found (the text of Maffei)

As regards the paintings the case was such, that a great deal of works from the school were already by Raphael himself designated as authentic thus his artistic individuality already at the outset was misunderstood The old inventories show that the contemporaries did not understand how to differentiate, thus pictures executed by the pupils were in highest favour One also admired on practical grounds rather the more easily accessible pictures 'Madonna di Fuligno' in the church of Aracoeli 'Madonna di Loreto' in Santa Maria del Popolo 'The transfiguration' in S Pietro in Montorio, the fresco of 'The Sibyls' in Santa Maria della Pace at Rome, 'Santa Cecilia' in S Giovanni del Monte at Bologna and 'Madonna del pesce' in S Domenico at Naples it was not, however so easy to obtain access to the frescos in the Vatican or to a picture which was as far away as the 'Madonna di S Sisto' at Piacenza It must be said to Vasari's credit, that he did his best to see all Raphael's works in Italy he knew the frescos of the Vatican thoroughly though his explanation of some of these contain mistakes and he had seen 'The Madonna of San Sisto' more than once, which can be proved by his letters and through his communications of travels(1) but he also partook in the popular predilection for pictures by the pupils for 'Madonna del cardellino', 'Madonna di Fuligno' 'Santa Cecilia', 'The Sibyls', etc — It was a pity that Penni did not live to see this success because it was actually his art which was always sought

In an art-historical respect the erroneous ideas concerning Raphael's personality began in Michelangelo's milieu There was an old standing antipathy between them as when Michelangelo wrote (about 1512) to Pope Julius the following understandings between Pope Julius and myself



are due to the envy of Bramante and Raffaello da Urbino — — —, and in this Raphael had good reason, because what he had of art he had from me (1) What was the cause of this strife is not easy to discover, (1) *Doc. LI* Michelangelo's insinuations against Raphael, that he had wanted to supplant him in the work of the Sixtine chapel, are improbable, it rather bears the impression of a self-defence, as Michelangelo's own relation to Julius II and his heirs in the question of the tombal monument was complicated But so much greater was the enmity, it spread still more through the men of Michelangelo's party, such as Leonardo Sellajo and Sebastiano del Piombo who felt themselves outdistanced by the pupils of Raphael Soon after Raphael's death the following characteristic dialogue takes place between Leo X and Sebastiano del Piombo who repeats it in a letter to Michelangelo at Florence 'Behold the works of Raphael! He abandoned Perugino's style directly when he had seen Michelangelo's works and approached them as closely as possible But he (Michelangelo) is 'terribile' as you can see one cannot have anything to do with him (2) It was the opinion in the Florentine circle that Michelangelo had obtained a decisive influence on Raphael and Michelangelo made his biographer Ascanio Condivi reiterate more than once these words 'As often as Raffaello da Urbino wanted to compete with Michelangelo he was forced many times to say that he thanked God that he was born in his time and had obtained another style from him than the one he had from his father who was painter and from his teacher Perugino' And in another passage 'Michelangelo never envied any one their ability, on the contrary he praised every one, also Raffaello da Urbino with whom he once had a contest in the art of painting — — I have only heard him say that Raffaello had not this art from nature, but through long study' (3) Popularly this criticism of Raphael's art rallied (3) *Doc. LIII* around 'The Sybils' in S Maria della Pace and 'The prophet Esaias' in Sant Agostino (both works of pupils in Penni's style), here one imagined to find the proof that Raphael had plagiarized Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sixtine chapel, which was narrated by Vasari with all details that Raphael in Michelangelo's absence borrowed the key of the chapel of Bramante and went in to see the new frescos, after which he hastened to change his own style as can be seen in 'The Sybils' and 'Esaias' (This from a purely chronological point of view is improbable, 'The Sybils' dating from the year 1519, Bellori first recognizing this at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (4)) But this was what Vasari wanted, and the whole of his Raphael biography tends to show the process of the development of Raphael's art under the repeated influences on the part of the Florentines, primarily from Leonardo's and Michelangelo's cartoons at Florence, later from Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sixtine chapel And for modern art historians, especially those of the German school, the same point of view was a matter of course, as they too, above all, sympathize with Florentine art That an influence existed was certain, but it emanated from Castagno, especially in a classical direction which was identical with that Perugino followed Michelangelo himself was under the same law, his dependence upon Castagno (Mantegna engravings) can be seen in the work from his youth But the difference between Raphael and Michelangelo was that Raphael chivalrously acknowledged what he owed his teachers and contemporaries,

(4) *Descrizione delle immagini dipinte da Raffaello d Urbino nel Palazzo Vaticano etc. 1695, 2 Ed Roma 1751, p 206*



whereas Michelangelo disavowed his teachers and sought to depreciate his competitors. History therefore records Raphael as being a man possessing a natural willingness to learn, whereas Michelangelo affected to be the original genius.

Vasari's biography of Raphael the most detailed next after his biography of Michelangelo thus saw the light from the double point of view of art topography and art history. It was, and is still regarded as the principal source to Raphael's life, though it is not authentic. Here the known pictures were mentioned in reasonable order because Vasari adhered to the chronology of the signed pictures and Raphael's history was told in a legendary way, in the illustrative style of the Italians, ending with the improbable story that Raphael aspired to the hat of cardinal and consequently did not want to marry Bibienas relation and that he led a debauched life, which brought him to the grave. Though the whole biography is fictitious it found credence for when 'Vasari says this or that it might well be true. Even the casual placing of a work of art out of all chronological order at the end of the biography brought about a picture such as 'The Madonna of San Sisto' being dated to a later period. His use of the tombal inscription in the Pantheon which he quotes, is typical here too others wanted to believe that perhaps Vasari's explanation was more correct than the words of the tombal inscription itself. On this it is clearly stated that Raphael died on his birthday on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 precisely 37 years old, a definition of age in the old Roman way in years months and days, as we know it from other Latin tombal inscriptions from the same period. But the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 was a good Friday, and the hour of death was in the third hour of the night which was probably related by all as a tradition. It being the popular custom in Italy to reckon the birthdays from the feasts and saints calendar and not from the astronomical calendar, Vasari wrote in the biography

'Raphael was born at Urbino a celebrated town in Italy, on good Friday 1483 in the third hour of the night'

As that day in 1483 fell on the 28<sup>th</sup> March, the art historians have divided themselves in two camps some saying that Raphael was born on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, others that he was born on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March, even the distinguished German archaeologist Adolph Michaelis (1) adhered to Vasari some have even supposed that the remaining number of days could justifiably be added to the tombal inscription.

Just as significant is Vasari's Italian transcription of the name on the epitaph *Raphael Sanctio* to *Raffaello Sanzio* though the family name was *Santi* or *Sancte* as one was wont to write it in the various dialects. *Sanctius* is an adjective with the character of the genitive derived from *Sancte* and is not a family name. Besides is it not just by the name of *Raffaello Sanzio* that all know the master of Urbino? Moreover Vasari was not consistent he also referred to Raphael by his right name.

We get an idea of the misconception and of the incorrectness of tradition when we see how matters stood in Goethe's time. In those days Vasari's life of Raphael and from the year 1790 a false biography published by U. S. 2. Then the renowned letter from Raphael to Count Castiglione was also taken for false. Also a letter of recommendation from the Duchess

of Sora published by Bottari, and a letter from Raphael to Francia (1508), published by Malvasia, both false. A fragment of a genuine letter, however, the one from Raphael to his mother's brother, (1514) published by Richardson in their, at that time, so excellent 'Traité de la peinture' Amsterdam, 1728 (1). Instead of Raphael's cranium, it was the cranium of the founder of the 'Congregazione de' Virtuosi al Pantheon' in Academia di S. Lucca which was exhibited, and Goethe possessed a cast which he described (2). The memorial of the Roman ruins was read under Castiglione's name in the brothers Volpi's publication of his writings (1733) from a text communicated by Maffei. In respect to the works which were admired, Vasari's taste was followed, which is shown by Goethe's mention of 'St Cecilia'. Then matters took a turn when Franceschini traced the attribution of the memorial back to Raphael (1799), and when the archival investigations took place in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and yet Raphael's authorship of the memorial is still sometimes contested with the old false reasoning that he was 'mirabile in imitare' and that for the memorial he had made use of a writing by Bramante. As recently as 1910 Vogel writes 'Ein Überblick über Raffaels Kunst zeigt, dass der Urbinate die rezeptivste Künstlernatur vielleicht der ganzen Renaissancezeit war und mit lebenswürdiger Unbefangenheit aus Quellen schöpfte, die andere erschlossen hatte' (3).

(1) III, 462

(2) *Italienische Reise 1788, Werke (Jub. Ausg.) XXVII, 247 and 272*(3) *Bramante u. Raffael, p. 96*

Vasari's writings can now be seen in their true light, he wanted above all to serve Michelangelo and at the same time to glorify Raphael. Our biography of Raphael has thus lost in continuity what it has gained in correctness. The first who fully realized Raphael's genius in this very working out of problems was Heinrich Brunn whose treatise on the compositions of the Vatican paintings, especially of 'The school of Athens' (1867) (4), was epoch-marking, but already in C. F. v. Rumohr's 'Ueber Raphael und sein Verhältnis zu den Zeitgenossen' (5) and earlier in Bellori and Richardson, we feel the warm sympathy for the creative force in Raphael's nature. Actually there is certainly scarcely another artist in the renaissance whose genius is so well brought to light from his own works and sayings as are Raphael's (Leonardo da Vinci's excepted), more especially as we must now reckon with this powerful document, as the memorial certainly is, for it gives us an insight to his culture and personal strength.

(4) *Kleine Schriften III, 285*(5) *Italienische Forschungen III (1831)*

## PROBABLE GENUINE DRAWINGS AND ENGRAVINGS AFTER LOST DRAWINGS

THESE 10 drawings and engravings are the only important ones I should venture to attribute to Raphael (and to Marcantonio after Raphael) In his critical catalogue, Fischel was previously well on the track of a similar strict conception of the essential requirements of a genuine Raphael drawing, in his work 'Raphaels Zeichnungen' (1914—) he has, however, included all what credulous persons have assembled under the name of Raphael The result is confusing The present few drawings, on the contrary, yield an impression of the mastery and personality in Raphael's style, of his own angular, graceful stroke, possessed by none of his imitators

### PLATE I

Studies for 'The coronation of St Nicholas da Tolentino', chalk, Oxford

### PLATE II

'Portrait of a young woman', chalk, Oxford

### PLATE III

'The massacre of the innocents', engraving by Marcantonio

### PLATE IV

Studies for 'la disputa' with sonnet, pen, British Museum

### PLATE V

Studies for 'la disputa' with sonnet, pen, Albertina, Vienna

### PLATE VI

Study for 'The Poetry', chalk, Windsor

### PLATE VII

'The Poetry', engraving by Marcantonio

### PLATE VIII

'S Cecilia', engraving by Marcantonio

### PLATE IX

Study for 'Madonna di Fuligno', chalk, Chatsworth

### PLATE X

'The wine harvest', engraving by Marcantonio













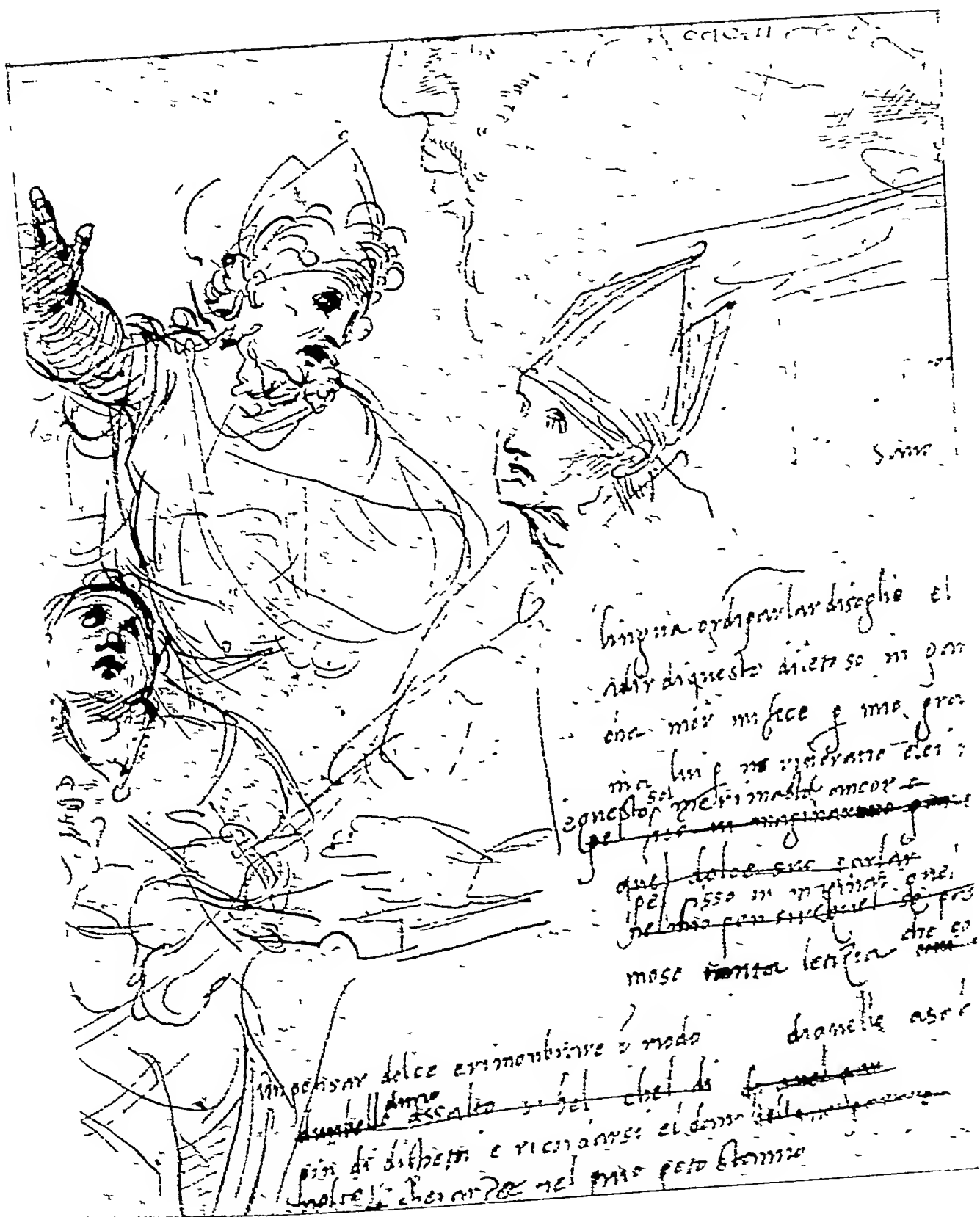


l'aria empiesse  
 taler a'is enten-  
 di quella marta  
 del gura d'ora  
 f'era p'ora  
 f'era p'ora  
 f'era p'ora

Or lingua di gura  
 ab' d'ingred  
 che m' m' loco  
 m' l'ingred  
 se f'era  
 l'era f'era  
 m' l'ingred  
 se f'era  
 l'era f'era  
 m' l'ingred  
 se f'era  
 l'era f'era







lingua ordinarla disoglio el  
 nâr di questo dieto se in par  
 ora mör m'face e mo gra  
 ma lui e no videra dei  
 equetor me v'india ancor e  
 gel pœ in ~~maginazione~~ ~~par~~  
 quel dolce sue carlar  
 pœ pœ in ~~maginazione~~ ~~par~~  
 nel suo pœ ~~maginazione~~ ~~par~~  
 mose ~~monta~~ ~~lenta~~ ~~che~~ ~~en~~

impensar dolce erimontare a modo dranelle asse  
~~assalto~~ ~~che~~ ~~di~~ ~~franchi~~ ~~par~~  
 pœ di di ~~franchi~~ ~~par~~ e ricorarsi el dom ~~franchi~~ ~~par~~  
 mœ ~~che~~ ~~di~~ ~~franchi~~ ~~par~~ nel pœ ~~franchi~~ ~~par~~

























# CATALOGUE AND SOURCES





# THE AUTHENTIC PAINTINGS OF RAFFAELLO DA URBINO, DRAWINGS AND REPRODUCTIONS OF SAME IN CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVINGS.

## I

Fragments of the altar-piece 'The coronation of Nicholas of Tolentino' 1501

God the Father in mandorla, wood, Museo Nazionale, Naples

Madonna, wood, ib

Angel from the terrestrial group below, wood, Museo civico, Brescia

Painted by Raphael and Evangelista da Piandimiteto for S Agostino in Città di Castello, December 1500—September 1501 (1) Vasari saw the altar-piece in its place (1) *Doc V*  
The church was destroyed by an earthquake in 1789, and the altar-piece which was damaged was sold to Pope Pius VI, who had the best parts sawn out and transported to Rome, while a copy of the lower part of the picture was placed in the church (now in Museo municipale in Città di Castello) The fragments were lost during the invasion of Rome by the French troops in 1798, but found, in our days, on the initiative of Oskar Fischel (2)

Drawing in black chalk, Lille (Fischel 33) On the front sketch of the composition (the figures above drawn over by another hand), on the back study of drapery (a portrait head, some penstrokes, a swan and architecture are added by the same hand)

(2) *Jahrb d Pr Kunstsaml XXXIII, 1912 p 105*

Drawing in black chalk, Oxford (not in Fischel's first catalogue) Front standing draped figure, back studies of hands, one holding a crown Plate I

## II

Madonna Solly, about 1501

Wood H 52 (originally 54?) B 38 (3) Berlin (since 1821)

(3) *The measures are in centimetres*

## III

'The dream of the knight'

Wood H 17, B 17 National Gallery, London (since 1847) Was in the Borghese collection in the middle of the 17th century Jacopo Manilli, Villa Borghese, Roma 1650, p 111 'un soldato che giace dormendo alla campagna'

## IV

Altar-piece, 'The coronation of the Madonna' Before 1503

Originally in wood, transferred to canvas (about 1797) H 267, B 163 Pinacotheca of the Vatican (The predella pieces not authentic) Painted for S Francesco al Prato in Perugia, is mentioned in 1512 as being painted for Alessandra degli Oddi (4) The execution of the painting must be dated before August 1503, as the family degli Oddi was expelled from Perugia at about this time

(4) *W Bombe, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, IV, 1911, p 304*

## V

Drawing in black chalk, British Museum (Fischel 617), so-called 'Raphael's sister' Plate II

## VI

Portrait of an unknown lady (la donna ignota) about 1504

Wood H 63, B 48 Tribuna of the Uffizi, Florence (1773) In Pal Pitti 1710 (5) Judging from the dress the picture might be from the period of 1508, but the drawing of the head is of the Umbrian period

(5) *Ridolfi, in Archivio storico dell'arte IV, 1891, p 428*

## VII

Madonna del Granduca

Wood H 86, B 56 Pal Pitti, Florence (since the 18th century)

## VIII

('St George' 1504 Copy?)

Wood H 28,5, B 21,5 Eremitage, Leningrad (since 1771) Painted as a present



## XV

Portrait of 'Tommaso Inghirami' about 1509—10

Wood Mrs Gardner, Boston Acquired from Pal Inghirami, Volterra Copy in Palazzo Pitti, Florence Tommaso Inghirami was superintendent of the Vatican library († 1516) The picture approaches in style the Florentine portraits, which excludes the hypothesis of Passavant (1), that he is represented as secretary of the conclave in 1513 (1) II, 137

## XVI

Fresco of 'The Theology' (La disputa del sacramento) about 1509 Camera della segnatura, Vatican

The name of 'La disputa grande' first occurs in 1610 (2), probably from Vasari's description The meaning is given by the inscription over the picture DIVINARUM RERUM NOTITIA (knowledge of things divine), a quotation from the beginning of Corpus juris civilis Juris prudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia (2) Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi* 1870, p 57

Pen-sketch, Albertina, Vienna (Fischel 143) Front Ambrosius and Petrus Lombardus together with sonnet I in its first sketch (Back reading Madonna with child, perhaps a study for 'Madonna di Casa Alba' by Penni, related to 'Madonna Colonna') Plate V

Pen-sketch, British Museum, London (Fischel 147) The two men to the right close to the parapet are otherwise than on the fresco, the foot of the first is as in the fresco, the man approaching the father of the church to the left differs from the one on the fresco Sonnet I in its second sketch Plate IV

Pen-sketch, University Galleries, Oxford (Robinson, Critical account 1870, 61 and 62) two bishop heads together with sonnet III in two editions and a fair copy of sonnet II — On another sheet U G Oxford (Robinson 65) sonnet IV can be found

(Pen-sketch, Musée Fabre, Montpellier (Fischel 146) the man who leans over the parapet to the right, sonnet V Probably a copy after a lost original The drawings, especially on the back are weak in stroke and seem to reproduce the softer touch of a chalk drawing, also the writing is as were it copied, the copyist being betrayed by an error See the annotations to the sonnets Fischel also attributes other drawings to Raphael)

## XVII

Fresco of 'The philosophy' ('The school of Athens') about 1510 Camera della segnatura, Vatican

Inscription over the picture CAUSARUM COGNITIO, citation from Cicero's Topica chapter 66 the recognition of causes gives recognition of the future (causarum enim cognitio cognitionem eventorum facit) This citation of Cicero is especially enlightening for the spirit in which the programme may have been indited, there being spoken of the common utility of clear passages in alleged proofs, both in respect to philosophers, jurists and poets! — In earlier times the fresco was understood as being 'The preaching of St Paul in Athens' (Ghisl's engraving, 1550), an interpretation which was defended by Herman Grimm (3) The portraits on the right probably represent Sadoletto, Raphael and Bramante. The figure of Diogenes on the steps was added by another hand (3) *Leben Raphaels* 1872, p 200

(Black chalk cartoon of the lower part of the fresco without 'Heracitus' Ambrosiana, Milano (Fischel 149), not by Raphael's hand)

## XVIII

Fresco of 'The Poetry' ('Parnassus') about 1510 Camera della segnatura, Vatican

Inscription over the picture NUMINE AFFLATUR, from Virgil's Aeneids VI, 50 afflata est numine quando iam propiore dei (she (the sybil) inspired, when the god approaches)

Over the windows the inscription JULIUS II PONT MAX ANN CHRI MDXI PONTIFICATUS SVI VIII Meaning, as in the identical inscription under 'The righteousness', that the whole work was finished at that date. The portrait on the right is Sannazaro — The grisailles under the fresco were added in a later period (4) (4) H Wölfflin *Die klassische Kunst* 1899 p 97, annotation Hoogewerff, in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* VIII 1915 p 10

## XIX

Fresco of 'The righteousness' (also called 'Jurisprudence') about 1511 Camera della segnatura, Vatican



## XXIV

Portrait of a cardinal (Bernardo Dovizi da Bibiena?) about 1511—1513.  
Wood H 78, B 61 Madrid

## XXV

Altar-picture 'Madonna di S Sisto' about 1512

Canvas H 265, B 196 Dresden (since 1754)

Painted for the Benedictine monks of S Sisto at Piacenza, probably as a present from Julius II to the church on its consecration in that year (1)

(1) *Doc. XIII*  
*See also*  
*H Grimme in*  
*Zeitschr f bild*  
*K N F XXXIII*  
*1922 p 41,*

## XXVI

Drawing in black chalk Chatsworth (Vasari Society Publications 1906) Plate IX  
Mother with child, perhaps a study for 'The Madonna di Fuligno', is very different from the picture composed and painted by Penni

## XXVII

(Engraving of Marco Dente da Ravenna A mother reading, embracing a child standing by her side (Bartsch 48)) — (Silver-pencil drawing at Chatsworth (Fischel 410), copy The attribution to Raphael is doubtful)

## XXVIII

('Madonna della Sedia' about 1512

Wood diam 71 Pal Pitti, Florence

Mentioned in the inventory of 1589 un quadro, dipintovi una N Donna a sedere con santo Giovanni e Figlio in braccio di mano di Raffaello da Urbino (2)

The picture was repainted many times The attribution to Raphael is uncertain)

(2) *A Goltz,*  
*Le gallerie ed*  
*i Musei di Fi-*  
*renze. Firenze*  
*1875, p 374*

## XXIX

Engraving of Marcantonio 'Vintage' (Bartsch 306)

The composition probably belonged to the lost series of frescos which Raphael (and his pupils?) painted in the 'Corridore di Bramante' in the Vatican 1513 (3) Plate X

(3) *Doc. XV*

## XXX

Fresco 'The triumph of Galathea' about 1513

In the loggia of Agostino Chigi (Villa Farnesina) Rome

The nearest parallel to this subject is to be found in Poliziano's 'Stanze per la giostra' I, 118 (4) This is confirmed by Aretno, who at this period resided in the house of Chigi, for he causes Lodovico Dolce to say in the dialogue 'Aretno' 1557 (5) 'la sua Galathea che contende con la bella Poesia del Policiano'

This picture cannot be dated from the letter to Castiglione of 1514, as this letter is false.

(4) *Springer,*  
*Raffael u Mi-*  
*chelangelo<sup>2</sup> II*  
*59*

(5) *ed Firenze*  
*1735 p 250*  
*See False let-*  
*ters III*

## XXXI

Engraving of Marcantonio 'St. Cecilia' (Bartsch 116)

This engraving represents probably Raphael's cartoon for the picture in Bologna (about 1513) Plate VIII Signed MAF (monogr) RAPH IVE ( INVENIT)

## XXXII

Portrait 'la donna velata' (Maria Bibiena?) about 1514

Canvas H 82, B 60 Palazzo Pitti, Florence (in the possession of the Medici from about the year 1620)

Vasari mentions a portrait of Raphael's 'love' (la sua donna) at Matteo Botti's, whose successors were in possession of the picture in 1591 (6) Ridolfi identified this picture (7)

Herman Behmer (8) has found traces of red colour under the grey dress The sleeve is presumably modern

(6) *Franc. Boc-*  
*chi, le bellezze*  
*della città di*  
*Firenze, 1591,*  
*p 83*

(7) *Archivio*  
*storico dell'arte*  
*IV, 1891, 441*

(8) *Kunst Chro-*  
*nik. N F XI,*  
*1900, column*  
*337*

(9) *Paolo Gio-*  
*rio see doc.*  
*XLIX.*

## XXXIII

Fresco of 'The fire in the Borgo' about 1514 Stanza del incendio Vatican.

Raphael mentioned this fresco for the dining room of Leo X. (9) in the letter to his uncle 1 July, 1514

Inscription over the picture *IUS SUUM UNICUIQUE TRIBUIT*, quotation from the beginning of *Corpus iuris civilis* *Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens* The composition that builds itself up architectonically around the window, consists of a lunette with three allegorical figures 'Robur', 'Veritas' and 'Temperantia', and underneath two historical pictures, on the left 'Justinianus receives the pandects from Tribonianus', on the right 'Gregory IX receives the decretals from Raymundus', representing temporal and divine justice These latter pictures were not painted by Raphael

The inscription over the window is the same as under 'The Parnassus'

The four inscriptions over the pictures characterize the room as an ecclesiastical room of justice, where the acts of grace (*gratiosa rescripta*) were signed 'Camera della segnatura', but this idea was perhaps in the beginning more clearly expressed by a scene of the Apocalypse instead of 'The righteousness', so that the inscription over 'The philosophy' *Causarum cognitio* might be continued *cognitionem eventorum facit*

(Pen drawing, Louvre (Fischel 175) scene of the Apocalypse VIII, with Julius II without beard (!) adoring God the Father between trumpet blowing angels The drawing is by Penni or of one of his pupils, but might be a rough copy, after a cartoon It is as a rule referred to Stanza d'Elodoro)

## XX

Drawing in black chalk, Windsor (Fischel 163) 'The Poetry' Study for the figure on the ceiling of the Camera della segnatura The same style as in 'The Parnassus', compare it with the sitting poet on the right. Thus it can be seen that the decoration of the ceiling belonged to the last part of the work Plate VI

Engraving of Marcantonio (Bartsch 382), the entire composition with the standing angels in a square form, Plate VII The medaillon of the painting is in quite another style (Penni)

## XXI

Fresco of 'The mass of Bolsena' 1511 Stanza d'Elodoro, Vatican

(1) *Doc. A* Dated by a letter of Stazio Gadio 16<sup>th</sup> August 1511 (1) The picture represents the wonder which took place at Bolsena in 1263 the cloth laid over the hostia at the moment of its transformation, showed to an unbelieving priest signs of the blood of Christ This cloth (*corporale*) was kept at Orvieto and Julius II adored it there in 1506 On the right of the picture the Pope kneels with two cardinals (Vasari said that one of the cardinals was Raffaello Riario) and the Swiss with the sedan chair of the Pope

The inscription over the window is the same as in the Camera della segnatura but with the year 1512 the same inscription must probably also have stood over the other window

## XXII

Fresco of 'The expulsion of Heliodorus' about 1512 Stanza d'Elodoro, Vatican

From Maccabees II chapter 3

## XXIII

Fresco of 'The deliverance of St Peter' about 1512 Stanza d'Elodoro, Vatican

Bellori thought that the picture alluded to the flight of Leo X from French imprisonment after the battle of Ravenna, April 1512, but Grimm, Pastor and others have pointed out that the titular church of Julius II when he was Cardinal was S Pietro in vincoli (the imprisoned St Peter or the church of fetters of St Peter), this last supposition makes it more probable that the fresco must have been painted already during the lifetime of Julius II († 1513 Feb)

The inscription over the window under this picture and over the door in the wall of 'Heliodorus' with the year 1514, do not refer to the fresco of 'The deliverance of St Peter', but to the whole decoration when it was finished, compare the payment of the rest of the sum in August 1514 (2)

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Wood H 78, B 61 Madrid

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(6) *Franc. Boc-*  
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*della città di*  
*Firenze, 1591,*  
*p 85*

(7) *Archivio*  
*storico dell'arte*  
*IV, 1891, 441*

(8) *Kunst Chro-*  
*nik, N F XI,*  
*1900, column*  
*357*

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(9) *Paolo Gio-*  
*rro see doc.*  
*XLIX*



The scene shows in the background a part of the façade of the old church of St Peter, and the loggia of the Pope, fantastically transformed after the design of the projected building of justice of Julius II in via Giulia. This part of the picture cannot be original. In Raphael's composition the space in the background where St Peter's church is seen must have been free, cf the cartoons of the tapestries. The fresco must have been executed by Giulio Romano, the background by Penni (1)

(1) *Dollmayr*  
in *Jahrb d*  
*kunsthist*  
*Samml Wien*  
*XVI, 1895*  
*p 246*

## XXXIV

Cartoon for the tapestry 'Feed my sheep' 1515

Paper with distemper Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Dated by the payments in June 1515 and December 1516 (2) Drawn by Raphael (on a smaller scale?), executed by Penni, (Vasari)

(2) *Doc XX*  
*The history of*  
*the tapestries*  
*see Eug*  
*Müniz Les*  
*tapisseries de*  
*Raphaël au*  
*Vatican 1897*

The cartoon was sent to Flanders to be woven by Pieter van Aelst at Brussels. This first tapestry, of a row of ten, was mentioned by Cardinal d'Aragona as being finished in July 1517. The cartoon was bought together with six others, on Rubens initiative, by Charles I King of England and suadente Petro Paulo Rubens Equite (3). After the death of the King they passed over to the English state. William III had them repaired and taken to a room in Hampton Court, built by Christopher Wren. Since that period they have changed place many times (4).

(3) *Nic*  
*Dorigny, Pi-*  
*nacotheca*  
*Hamptoniana*  
*London 1719*

(4) *Passavant*  
*II, 206*

The tapestries, of which the seven were finished in 1519, hung in two rows in the Sistine chapel, the history of St Peter on the left wall of the chapel seen from the entrance, and the history of St Paul on the right (5).

(5) *Steinmann,*  
*Jahrb d Pr*  
*Kunstsamml*  
*XXIII, 1902,*  
*p 186*

## XXXV

Cartoon for the tapestry 'St Peter and St John healing the lame' (retouched by Penni?)

## XXXVI

Cartoon of 'The death of Ananias'

## XXXVII

Cartoon for the tapestry of 'The miraculous draught of fish'

## XXXVIII

Cartoon for the tapestry 'Elymas struck with blindness' (retouched by Penni?)

## XXXIX

Cartoon for the tapestry 'The sacrifice at Lystra' (retouched by Penni?)

## XL

Cartoon for the tapestry 'The sermon of St Paul at Athens'

(The three missing cartoons, judging from the tapestries, were composed by Penni. 'The conversion of St Paul' was in the year 1521 in the possession of Cardinal Grimani at Venice (6) but since then has disappeared, 'The lapidation of St. Stephan' was in 1543 in the possession of a painter at Rome) (7).

(6) *Doc LIX*

(7) *Doc. LXI*

## XLI

Frescos in the Psyche room, Villa Farnesina about 1518, Rome

(8) *Doc. XXXV*

Dated from a letter from Leonardo Sellajo to Michelangelo (8). The whole arrangement must be due to Raphael but in the pictures of the centre and of the lateral groups Penni's heavy hand can be felt.

## XLII

The decorations of the Loggia in the Vatican 1517—1519

(9) *Doc*  
*XXXVIII*

Dated by contemporary letters and accounts (9).

Raphael's style can be found in the general plan and in the biblical pictures 'God separating light and darkness', 'Moses receiving the tables of laws', 'The column of smoke'.

## XLIII

Portrait of Raphael and Count Castiglione? ('Raphael and his fencing-master') 1519 (?)

Canvas, H about 90, B about 75 (a piece has been added on all sides) (1) Louvre, Paris In the collection of Fontainebleau 1625 under Pontormo's name, in 1607 in Cardinal Granvella's collection at Besançon under Pordenone's name (2)

(1) *Les Art XII*, 1913, p 31

(2) Müntz: *Les historiens et les critiques de Raphaël*, p 149

Dated from Pauluzzi's letter September 1519 (3), but the composition and the garments permit an earlier date, provided this agrees with the age of those represented The picture in the composition is Raphaelian but must have been much retouched

(3) *Doc XLIII*

#### XLIV

'The Transfiguration' See work of the school XXXV

## THE AUTHENTIC BUILDINGS OF RAFFAELLO DA URBINO.

### I

Plan and model of the church of St Peter 1514

Raphael's appointment and the further historical data, see doc. XVIII The ground-plan is given with incorrect measurements by Serlio, *Architettura* lib III The model is lost

The plan of situation of the parts executed about 1515 can be found in Codex Coner (4) Several prospects from the middle of the century show the executed parts of the southern transept ('the chapel of the King of France') (5), also in a fresco by Vasari in Palazzo della cancelleria, Rome To these may be added the memorial of Antonio da Sangallo the younger, where certain parts of Raphael's plan and executed parts are criticised, and two drawings of the rounding of the transept with a proposal for an alteration of the supply of light (6) The transepts were removed by Michelangelo

(4) *Papers of the British school at Rome II*, 1904, pl 31

(5) v Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe*, pl 52 Herm Egger, *Römische Veduten I*, pl. 32

(6) v Geymüller pl 33

### II

The Loggie of Leo X in the Vatican 1517?—1519

The date of construction in doc XXXVIII

Works of reinforcement by Antonio da Sangallo after that the buildings, on the day of Raphael's death, threatened to collapse The Loggie were closed with windows in 1813 The monogram of Julius II can be found over the two doors of the lower story, while the third bears that of Leo X

Vasari says that a long staircase behind the Loggie, decorated with the monogram of Leo X was also built by Raphael

The Loggie, with their rich decoration in antique style, have been eminently edited by Th Hofman in the fourth volume of his great work on Raphael ('Raffael in seiner Bedeutung als Architekt') published by Amelung and Weege

### III

The Villa of Cardinal Medici on monte Mario (Villa Madama), under construction in the Summer of 1519 (?)

The decorations were finished before the Cardinal was nominated Pope (Clemens VII) 1523 The constructed parts are only the half of a symmetrical plan known from drawings by Battista and Antonio da Sangallo (Uffizi) (7) The plan encompasses now (the half of) the main building with the north loggia and south hemicycle, the riding ground before the north loggia, constructed on massive foundations on the slope of the hill and under which the springs of the hill were assembled to a pond between the arches of the foundation, in a more extended northerly direction, but lower down was planned a great architectonic garden with nymphaeas, stadion etc. and with a theatre on the slope of the hill behind the buildings Raphael described the whole plan in a letter to Count Castiglione, which unhappily is lost (8)

(7) v Geymüller, *Raffaello studiato come architetto*, pl 4—6

(8) *Doc. LVI*

The building was set on fire by the enemy of Clemens VII Cardinal Pompeo

Colonna during the conquest of Rome in 1527. After that period it must have been restored by Antonio da Sangallo (consequently his plan)

Later in the possession of Margareta of Parma, whence the name 'Villa Madama'

## IV

Palazzo Pandolfini, Florence, about 1520

Built for the Bishop of Troja in south Italy, Giannazzo Pandolfini who in the year 1517 got permission to include a small oratorium, S Silvestro, in the new building (1), this benifice must have been renewed by Clemens VII (after 1523). This may be inferred by the inscription around the house on three sides, reading

IANNOCTIUS PANDOLFINUS EPS TROIANUS  
LEONIS X ET CLEMENTIS VII PONTT MAXX BENEFICIIS  
AUCTUS A FUNDAMENTIS EREXIT AN SAL MDXX

The date of 1520 appears either to designate the laying of the foundation stone or the completion of the building, but this is at variance with the inscription in which the name of Clemens VII is also found and must thus have been inserted after the year 1523. In 1520 the Bishop maintained in his testament that the building should pass to his heirs 'con tutti li miglioramenti fatti e da farsi', so that the date possibly refers to this, thus we may presume that the building was under construction since the year 1520. H v Geymüller (2) quotes the inscription with exception of the names of the two Popes and on the whole incorrectly, consequently the difficulty has escaped his notice, likewise the hypothesis advanced by him that Giovan Francesco da Sangallo who, according to Vasari, superintended the construction of the palace for Raphael, was at Florence for that purpose on leave from the church of St Peter where he was employed, the year 1517 must thus be corrected to 1519, at which date he was actually absent (3). But, on the contrary, v Geymüller is in the right in maintaining that the palace in its irregular form is complete and not unfinished as it has often been imagined, though, as v Geymüller supposed, the inscription gives no proof of this. It is, however, certain that the depth of the side wing is too inconsiderable for it to be other than a side wing.

We regard the whole composition and the style of the façade as Raphaelian, on the contrary the details of the inner gate and the loggia giving on the garden are Florentine. The palace contains two fine rooms with ceilings dating from about the year 1530.

## THE PAINTINGS EXECUTED IN THE NAME OF RAFFAELLO DA URBINO, BUT NOT AFTER HIS COMPOSITIONS

## I

Altar picture 'Crucifixus' 1503

Wood H 257, B 164. Collection Dr Mond, London (test to the Nat Gall)

Painted for S Domenico in Città di Castello for the family Gavarı. Dated by the inscription on the altar (4) HOC OPUS FECIT (FIERI) DNICUS (= DOMENICUS) TOME DE GAVARIS MDIII

Signed on the foot of the cross RAPHAEL URBINAS P (PINGEBAT). The choice of colours is possibly Raphaelian but the figures are too long-stretched and the landscape too bare. Morelli demonstrated (5) that the picture was painted from motives of Perugino.

## II

Altar-picture 'The nuptials of the Madonna' (lo sposalizio) 1504

Wood H 169, B 114. Brera, Milano

Painted for S Francesco in Città di Castello. The prototype was a similar picture by Perugino (Caen) which was under execution in 1503 (6).

(1) *Atti del Collegio degli ingegneri etc. Roma 1883*

(2) *Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana VII, p 3*

(3) *Frey, Zur Baugeschichte, p 61 and 63*

(4) *Magherini-Graziani L'arte a Città di Castello p 235*

(5) *Galerie Berlin, p 296*

(6) *W. Bombe, Peruginop 246*

Signed on the architrave of the temple RAPHAEL URBINAS (P) MDIII

Long-stretched silhouette figures, intersecting each other in a hard style, smallish insignificant heads The composition possesses no spacious harmony Red colours dominate

### III

Altar-picture 'Madonna Ansider' 1506

Wood H 274 B 152 Nat. Gall London

Painted for S Fiorenzo in Perugia Vasari asserts that it was painted by Raphael Dated on the seam of the Madonna's dress MDVI

(Penni) Compilation of motives from Perugino the architecture originates from the altar-picture in Marseille. St John the Baptist incorrectly drawn, the right leg directed to the left hip the pointing hand attached to the body The motive of the Madonna is very insignificant

### IV

Altar-picture 'Madonna for the nuns of Sant Antonio'

Wood Collection Pierpont Morgan New York

Painted for a cloister in Perugia, according to Vasari by Raphael

(Penni) The unnaturally broad figures of the saints have no depth

### V

Altar-picture 'Madonna del baldachino', about 1508—1510

Wood H 276, B 219 Pal Pitti, Florence

According to Vasari an order of the family Dei in Florence for S Spirito

(Penni) Here a composition by Raphael has possibly been used, as the construction possesses a picturesque spacious character, but the throne and the motive of the Madonna cannot be by Raphael the whole execution is without interest

### VI

Fresco 'Justinianus receives the pandects from Tribonianus', about 1511

Camera della segnatura, under the allegory of 'The righteousness' (Baldassare Peruzzi?)

### VII

Fresco 'Gregory IX receives the decretals from Raymundus', about 1511.

In the same room in the Vatican

(Penni) The composition is crowded the lines of the arm and cloak of the Pope intersect each other, paralysing all movement, which is typical of Penni

### VIII

Frescos on the ceiling of the Camera della segnatura, about 1511

The square pictures in the corners are independent compositions by Penni, for the medaillon pictures, at least for 'The Poetry', Raphael made a study which corresponds in style to 'The Parnassus' so that the work must be dated about 1511, not about 1509 as was generally supposed, the primitive character being due to the harshness of the execution

(Penni) The figures in the pictures at the corners are weak in drawing and in detail they have conspicuous arms, are foreshortened and possess all the characteristics not in keeping with Raphael's style. On the contrary they correspond to the style of the loggie.

### IX.

Portrait of Julius II

Wood. H 108, B 81 Uffizi, Florence

(Penni) Though the figure is in half profile, a front view of the back of the chair is drawn, imparting to the picture a twisted appearance, known from other compositions by Penni. As a contrast, compare the lines in the pelerine and hands with those in the portrait of the Pope in 'Heliodorus'

### X.

Altar-picture 'Madonna di Fuligno'

Canvas H 320, B 194. Pinacotheca of the Vatican

Painted for Sigismondo de' Conti († February 1512) According to Vasari by Raphael  
The authentic drawing of the Madonna group shows the difference Plate IX

(Penni.) The figures are seen in coulisse against the deep landscape They are incorrectly drawn and sentimental The staff of St John the Baptist is broken off in the body of S Francesco As in 'The Madonna del pesce', the figures present their silhouette only, but behind they are flat and disappear behind each other, there is no room at all for the lion

The composition, in the zigzag line of construction, must have been influenced by Dürer's Apocalypse.

Study drawing of the Madonna group (Brit Mns, Vasari Society Publication 1906)

Engraving by Marcantonio (Bartsch 52 and 53, confer 47)

## XI

Frescos on the ceiling in Stanza d'Elodoro about 1514

(Penni.) The best of the compositions God the Father appears before Noah, was engraved by Marcantonio These pictures which have the character of tapestries remind one of 'The Sybils' and frescos in Sala di Costantino, and the idea is certainly not Raphael's

## XII

Fresco 'Leo and Attila' about 1514 Stanza d'Elodoro, Vatican

Raphael received on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1514 the remainder of the payment for the decoration of the room (1)

(1) *Doc. XVII*

(2) *Die klassische Kunst 1899, p 103*

(Penni.) Wölfflin showed that the fresco was not in Raphael's style (2) The left half with the portrait figures is typical of Penni The figures are broad silhouettes without depth The young cardinal is probably, on account of the family likeness, Innocenzo Cibo, Leo X's nephew

## XIII

Cartoon for the tapestry 'The martyrdom of St. Stephan' about 1515—16  
Lost.

(Penni.) The typical faults in this and the following composition are the intricate position of the limbs of the figures in a group The sitting figure at the right is out of balance.

## XIV

Cartoon for the tapestry 'The conversion of St. Paul' about 1515—1516  
Lost

(3) *Doc. LIX*

It was in the possession of Cardinal Grimani Venice (3) (Penni.)

## XV

Cartoon for the tapestry 'St Paul in prison' about 1515—16 Lost. (Penni.)

## XVI

Altar-picture 'St. Cecilia' about 1514—16

Canvas H 220, B 136 Pinacotheca, Bologna

(4) *Literature see Gronau p 237*

Painted for Elena Dugholi dall' Olio for S Giovanni in Monte, near Bologna (4) (Penni.)

## XVII

Altar-picture 'Christ bearing the cross' (lo spasimo di Sicilia) about 1516

Canvas H 306, B 230 Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Dated before 1517 by the engraving of Agostino Veneziano (Bartsch 28)

Signed RAPHAEL URBINAS

(5) *I c. p 135 A*

(Penni.) Wölfflin showed that the picture had not Raphael's style (5) The composition is a typical compilation of motives All the stretched out arms are a predilection of Penni

## XVIII

Fresco 'The battle of Ostia' about 1515 Stanza del incendio Vatican

(6) *Dollmayr Raffaels Werkstatt. Jahrb d Kunsthist Samml Wien XVI 1895 p 248*

(Giulio Romano) (6) The figures of Giulio Romano have long arms, their movements possess no figural severity

The picture is fantastic but it has neither harmony, nor art.

## XIX

Fresco 'The oath of Leo III' about 1516—17, in the same room, Vatican

(7) *Dollmayr I c.*

(Penni) (7) Flat, overcrowded, dull There is no room for the figures on the steps

## XX

Fresco 'The coronation of Charlemagne' about 1516—17 In the same room, Vatican (Penni)(1) An exaggerated oblique perspective effect, with an agglomeration of objects, figures and architecture The small boy is as badly placed in the picture as the figure of St John on the throne in the picture for the nuns of Sant Antonio It is an important picture in the history of Penni especially as regards the portraits (1) Dollmayr c 1

## XXI

Fresco of the elephant of the King of Portugal, 1516 Lost Vatican  
The inscription with Raphael's name is referred (2) (Giulio Romano, who painted elephants and other animals in Mantova?) (2) Doc XXVI

## XXII

Decorations of the bathroom of Cardinal Bibiena 1516 Vatican  
Reproductions in Th Hofman Raffael in seiner Bedeutung als Architekt Mentioned in the letters of Bembo (3) (3) Doc XXIV

## XXIII

Frescoes of Christ with the apostles, painted in green earth, frieze with animals and birds, 1517

Lost through Taddeo Zuccherro later repainting the fresco

Sala dei Palafrenieri, Vatican

Dated by the payment, 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1517 to Raphael's pupils (1) (4) (Vasari stated that the animals were painted by Giovanni da Udine) (4) Doc XXX

## XXIV

Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici before 1516

Canvas H 88, B 66 formerly Coll Huldshinsky, Berlin, now America

Mentioned by Bembo, April 1516, as probably the work of a pupil (5)

(Penni) The exaggerated intersecting lines, the want of depth and of character, the bad composition of the hands, everything is typical of Penni The expression is the same as in the portrait of Penni by himself (5) Doc XXIV

## XXV

Portrait of Count Castiglione before 1516

Canvas H 82, B 67 Louvre, Paris

(Penni) A silhouette effect as in the preceding portrait in variance with the plastic turn of the figure Incorrect drawing of the face, as the nose ought to have been turned more to the left

## XXVI

Altar-picture 'La vergin del pez' before 1517

Canvas H 212, B 158 Museo del Prado, Madrid

Dated from a wood-cut of 1517, in which the principal group was copied (6) Mentioned as the work of Raphael 1524 (7)

(Penni) The figures possess alone the parts of the body which they show, for the other parts the artist did not interest himself Harsh intersection of lines in silhouette everywhere The picture is an after-effect of the 'Madonna di S Sisto'

(6) Kristeller, *Tizians Trionfo della Fede*.  
Graphische Gesellschaft 1896  
T VII

(7) Repertor f Kunstwiss  
XXX, 1907, 149

## XXVII

Altar-picture 'The Madonna of Francis I' 1518

Canvas H 207, B 140 Louvre, Paris Painted as a present from Lorenzo de' Medici (8)

(8) Doc. XXXII

Signed RAPHAEL URBINAS PINGEBAT MDXVIII

(Penni and Giulio Romano) (9)

(9) Dollmayr  
I c. p 276

## XXVIII

Altar-picture 'St Michael' 1518

Canvas H 268, B 160 Louvre, Paris

Dated and signed as the preceding picture

(Penni and Giulio Romano)

## XXIX.

Altar-picture 'St. Margaret' 1518

Canvas H 138, B 122. Louvre, Paris.

(Penni and Giulio Romano)

## XXX.

Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici 1518 copy?

Wood. H 140, B 116 In the corridor between the Uffizi and Pitti, Florence.

(Penni)

## XXXI

Portrait-picture of Pope Leo X. with the Cardinals de' Rossi and Medici about 1517—19

Wood. H 155 B 119 Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Dated from Cardinal de' Rossi's nomination 1517 and death 1519 Federico Gonzaga

(1) Vasari V  
41 possessed a copy by Andrea del Sarto (Naples) (1).

(Penni and Giulio Romano). This picture is in all respects typical of Penni also in details but we can see that he had learned much from Raphael's portraits in 'Heliodorus' also in the arrangement of the garment of the Pope, yet without attaining the correct style, the composition imparts only a perspective effect without any feeling for space. The colours are red in red.

## XXXII

Portrait of Jane of Aragon 1518

Canvas H. 120 B 95 Louvre, Paris

(2) Doc. XXXVI. Mentioned in the correspondence of Mantova (2).

(Penni and Giulio Romano). Corresponds closely to the style of the preceding picture.

## XXXIII.

Fresco 'The Sybils' before 1519

Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.

(3) Doc. XLI Dated (?) by the inscription from 1533 (3).

(Penni and Giulio Romano). It is inconceivable that with critical consciousness one ever could have attributed to Raphael this compilation of inharmonious figures seen against the uniform dark background which destroys their spacious qualities. One ought to know how Raphael composed 'The righteousness'. The figures are in all respects of the hand of a dilettante, and it is a necessary consequence thereof that they are cut voluntarily by the arch to which four of them are leaning as if they were sitting on a grindstone.

## XXXIV.

Altar-picture 'The Madonna and Elisabeth' before 1520

Canvas H 200, B 145 Museo del Prado Madrid.

Painted for Marino Branconio d'Aquila for a church in Aquila, with an inscription by Marino Branconio's son Giovanni Battista. (Raphael's friend and the executor of his will) (4).

(4) Penni and Giulio Romano II, 247. The picture must have been set up in April 1520 Signed RAPHAELE URBINAS F (Penni) (5).

(5) De' Rossi  
Lc.

## XXXV.

Altar-picture 'The Transfiguration' about 1519—20

Wood. H. 405, B 278 Pinacotheca of the Vatican.

Ordered by Cardinal Medici about the year 1517, not begun before 1519 finished at the time of Raphael's death (4). Set up in S Pietro in Montorio at Rome in the year 1524 (6).

(6) Doc. XLII

Though Raphael's share in the composition is certain, yet the picture, as it is now must be reckoned as the work of pupils

(Penni and Battista Luteri)

## XXXVI.

Altar-picture 'La Perla'

Wood. H. 144, B 115 Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Painted for Count Ludovico Canossa (7). Mentioned by Vasari as being painted by Raphael

(Giulio Romano) (8).

(7) A. E. Per-  
sonal in Archi-  
vo della So-  
cietà Romana  
II, 191 311

(8) Grove and  
Carrington II,  
171

In addition to the three altar-pictures III, IV and V, which we, on the authority of Vasari, have inserted in the series of works executed in Raphael's name, because probably he adhered, as in respect to X and XVI, to a reliable tradition, we can also here name the following works of the school which in Vasari's time belonged to Florentine families, and which may have been acquired by these as being authentic

## XXXVII

'Madonna del cardellino' about 1505

Wood H 106, B 75 Uffizi, Florence

According to Vasari a present from Raphael to Lorenzo Nasi

(Penni) Supposed to have been painted by Raphael at the same time as 'die Jungfrau im Grünen', but lacks this picture's delicate mathematical style and the sure insertion into the size of the picture 'Madonna del cardellino' might be reduced on all sides or the landscape might be enlarged ad libitum The figures are incorrectly drawn, especially the head of the child Jesus The colours are warmer than those of Raphael

## XXXVIII

Altar-picture 'Madonna Canigiani' about 1507?

Wood H 132, B 98 Munich

In the inventory of the Uffizi 1589 (1) During a restoration some angels in the air have been painted out

(Penni) The beginning of Penni's Roman altar-pictures in the style of 'The Madonna of Francis I'

(1) A Gotti, *Le gallerie e i Musei di Firenze* p 377

## XXXIX

Portrait of Bindo Altoviti about 1512

Wood H 61, B 45 Munich (?)

## XL

Altar-picture 'Madonna dell' impannata' about 1517

Wood H 155, B 123 Pal Pitti, Florence

Painted for Bindo Altoviti In the Tribuna of the Uffizi 1589

(Penni) (2) It is characteristic that the figures advance into the picture from all sides without an explanation of what is around them, or on what they are sitting The motive of the background is a reminiscence of Florentine pictures by Penni such as 'The Madonna with Joseph without a beard' Leningrad — The date usually given as 1514 must be too early

(2) Dollmayr, p 359

## XLI

Portrait of Cardinal Bibiena 1520?

Canvas H 86, B 66 Pal Pitti, Florence

Must be identical with a portrait in Pal Dovizi at Bibiena (3)

(Penni)

(3) Vasari *Ragionamenti Opere ed Italiani: VIII,* 157

## PICTURES IN RAPHAEL'S STYLE WITH FALSE SIGNATURES

Madonna-picture 'La belle jardiniere' 1507 (or 1508)

Wood H 122, B 80 Louvre, Paris

Signed RAPHAELLO URB Dated MDVII (or MDVIII)

(Penni) Corresponds to 'The Madonna del cardellino' Typical of Penni though the group is thought spaciously, yet the feet stand on the same line Compare it with 'die Jungfrau im Grünen', for the contrast

Madonna-picture 'The big Madonna Cowper' 1508

Wood? H 68, B 46 Coll Cowper Panshanger

Signed MDVIII R U

(?)



The small picture 'The Holy family with the lamb' about 1518?

Wood. H. 23, B. 21 Museo del Prado Madrid.

Signed: RAPHAEL-URBINAS MDV.

Supposed to be primitive, but judging from the style of the drapery it must be of a later period.

Altar-picture 'The Holy family under the oak-tree'.

Wood. H. 144, B. 110 Museo del Prado Madrid.

Signed RAPHAEL PINX.

Giulio Romano, '1.

(1, Crowe and  
Cavalloville  
II. 311

Portrait 'La Fornarina'.

Wood. H. 85 B. 60 Gall. Barberini, Rome.

Signed on the bracelet of the naked arm of the woman: RAPHAEL URBINAS

(2, Arch. v.  
della R. Galleria  
Romana II,  
1879 p. 62.

Known from the year 1595. named thus for the first time by Fabio Chigi 1618/2.

Penni, This picture possesses in the expression a striking resemblance with the portrait of Penni by himself, but it is painted much later, perhaps not until after Raphael's death. That Raphael never could have composed a figure in such a thoughtless manner a sitting figure without a chair and that he never could have drawn the miserable left hand on the woman's lap ought to prove that this picture could not be attributed to him. Concerning the signature it must be remembered that the picture is a courtesan-portrait and that it would not have been seemly for a man in his position to put his name to it: if originally there had not stood another name on the bracelet, this being necessary for the composition, must this RAPHAEL URBINAS have been a very coarse joke by his pupils. But we will not discuss this question further, the main point is that the picture is unraphaelian.

Numerous other works attributed to Raphael can be found in the work of Rosenberg and Gronau, Raffael 'Klassiker der Kunst' I.



che me mandasse unatauoleta che era lacoperta de la nostra donna de la profetessa non mela mandata ueprego uoi li faciate a (crossed over) sapere quando ce persona che uenga che io possa satifsare amadonna che sapete adesso uno auera bisogno di loro ancora ui prego carissimo zeo che uoi uoliate dire al preto e alasanta che uenendo la Tadeo Tadei fiorentino elquale nauemo ragionate piu uolte insieme li facime honore senza asparagnio nisuno e uoi an[c]ora lifarite careze per mio amore che certo liso ubligatissimo quanto che aomo che uiua Dela tauola non ho fatto prego e non lofaro seio poro per che elsera meglio per me che lauada astima empero non ne ho scritto quello che io non poseua e ancora non ueneposso dare auso pur secondo me aditto elpatrone de ditta Tauola dice che me dara dafare per circha atrecenti ducati doro per qui e infrancia fato le feste forsi uescuiro quello che la tauola monta che Io hofinito elcartone efato pascua serimo acio/aueria caro sefosse possibile dauere una letera direcomandatione al gonfalonero di fioreza dal S Prefetto e pochi di fa Io scrisse al zeo e a giouano daroma mela fesen avere me faria grande utilo per linteresse de una certa stanza da lauorare la quale T[o]cha a sua s de alo-care ueprego se eposibile uoi melamandiate che credo quando sedimandara al s prefetto per me che lui lafara fare e a quello me ricomandate infinite uolte como sua anticho seruitore e familiare non altro aricomandatime al maestro [francesco?] e are-dolfo eatutti ghialtr[1] al di X]XI de aprile M D VIII

El uostro raphaello dipintore  
in fioreza

We have given a translation of the letter in the biography with provisional notes. The letter in some parts is difficult to read or to understand. Thus it is not quite clear if the words 'pochi di fa Io scrisse al zeo e a giouano daroma' meant that Raphael had written to these persons from Rome, or that the latter person was called Giovanni da Roma, probably the last interpretation is the right one, as the expression 'pochi di fa' excludes the possibility of one of the letters being written in Rome, the other in Florence at so short an interval. The date must be read XXI not XI, because Easter in 1508 fell on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April (1), and Raphael had evidently written just before that feast.

(1) Grotefend,  
*Zeitrechnung*  
1891, I, 134

(2) *Opere*,  
Venetia, 1729,  
III, 115 com-  
pare 196

(3) I, 104

(4) *Opere ed*  
*Milanesi* IV  
188, V, 27

Bembo has given a detailed account of the Duke's death and the Duchess Elisabetta's great sorrow (2). Passavant (3) wanted to identify the dealer in works of art who had ordered a picture from Raphael and probably wanted to buy more pictures to sell them in Italy or France, as Giovanni Battista della Palla, who is mentioned many times by Vasari, but evidently from a later period (4). It has also been supposed that this concerned the altar-piece of the family Dei, which Raphael had left behind at Florence, half finished and which was later bought by Baldassare Turini, it is now to be found under the name of 'Madonna del baldachino' in Pal Pitti. Both interpretations are equally uncertain. The expression 'che Io hofinito elcartone, efato pascua serimo acio' might give the impression that Raphael personally had drawn the cartoon for the picture, but executed the painting together with another, for which he uses at the end of the phrase the plural 'serimo', yet this is improbable, it was rather a question of settling the affair between Raphael and the man who gave the order, moreover the use of singular and plural is variable as can be seen from Raphael's Memorial.

## II

Notice to Domenico Alfani at Perugia, on the back of a drawing (Lille, Fischel 427) of a Holy Family, not by Raphael, after the composition of which Alfani later painted a picture, now in the Pinacotheca of Perugia

Ricordo auoi menecho che me mandiate le istramboti dericiardo di quella tempesta che ebbe andando i uno uiagio e che recordiate a Cesarino che me manda quella predicha erecomandatemi alui ancora ue ricoro che uoi solecitate madonna le atalate che me manda lidenari euedete dauere horo edite acesarino che ancora lui lirecorda e soleciti eseio poso altro per uoi ausatemi

## III

About 1510 Five sketches of love sonnets on the designs of 'la disputa del sacramento' We communicate here after Grimm's reading the final or last form of each sonnet in their original script, yet with the addition of punctuation and capital letters for variants we refer to Grimm (1) The order of the sonnets is given for the second and third, but it was not the intention to seek any connection between them, yet the fifth must be looked upon as the termination of an episode in Raphael's life to which it refers

1<sup>st</sup> Sonnet

The first sketch is found on the drawing in the Albertina with the two bishops, the second sketch on the drawing in the British Museum with the sketched figures this second version runs as follows

|   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| Un pensier dolce erimembrase (2) in [modo]      | (2) è rimem-<br>brarsi |
| di quello asalto ma piu grauò el danno          |                        |
| del partir chio restai como quei cano (3)       | (3) ch'hanno           |
| mar (4) perso lastella sel uer odo              | (4) in mar             |
| or lingua di parlar disogli el nodo             |                        |
| adir di questo inusitato ingano                 |                        |
| cha mor (5) mi fece per mio grauò affanno       | (5) ch'amor            |
| ma lui pur ne ringratio e lei nel odo (6)       | (6) ne l'odo           |
| lora (7) sesta era che locaso un sole           | (7) l'ora.             |
| aueua fatto el altro surse in locho             |                        |
| ati (8) piu da far fati che parole              | (8) atto               |
| maio (9) restai pur unto ar (10) mio gran focho | (9) ma io              |
| che mi tormenta che doue lon (11) sole          | (10) al                |
| disiar di parlar piu riman fiocho               | (11) l'uom             |

To this sonnet as a whole, Sannazaro's 38th sonnet (12) must have served as a model

|  |   |
|--|---|
| L'alto e nobil pensier, che si souente   | (12) Sonetti e<br>Canzoni del<br>Sannazaro,<br>Venetia 1545,<br>fol 19 <sup>r</sup> |
| a me stesso mi fura e're ciel mi mena    |   |
| m'haua tolto dal mondo, e della gente,   |   |
| e lontanata gia d'ogni mia pena          |   |
| quando quella mia luce alma, serena      |   |
| folgoranda d'un foco honesto, ardente,   |   |
| subito quasi un sol mi fu presente       |   |
| tal ch'agghiacciar sentij ciascuna vena  |   |
| O dolce assalto, o utile paura           |   |
| o inganno infelice, in cui m'offerse     |   |
| Amor, quanto puo 'ngegno, arte e natura  |   |
| Ma lasso, perchè il cor, quando s'aperse |   |
| non ne cacciò questa atra nebbia, oscura |   |
| e ricovrò le soe virtù disperse?         |   |

Raphael retained reminiscences alone of Sannazaro's sonnet, while new motives are inserted especially at the end, under the influence of Petrarca The expression 'l'ora sesta era' reminds of Petrarca's 'Trionfo della morte' I, 151 l'ora prima era (13), but in its application by Raphael it may best be compared to Ovidius 'Amores' I, 5 Aestus erat, mediamque dies exegerat horam etc., while the beginning in both these parts depends on the erotic sense which was not Petrarca's sentiment here Yet the concluding lines again remind of 'Trionfo della morte' II 139

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Fur quasi eguali in noi fiamme amorose, | (13) G. Mestica<br>in Nuova An-<br>tologia 1899,<br>LXXIX., 629<br>n I |
| almen poi ch'io m'avvidi del tuo foco,  |  |
| ma l'un l'appalesò, l'altro l'ascoso    |  |
| Tu eri di mercè chiamar gia roco,       |  |
| quand'io tacea, perchè vergogna e tema  |  |
| facean molto desir parer sì poco        |  |

The sentiment here is identical, Raphael has only expressed it more intensely, more originally

Fair-copy on a paper in University College, Oxford (see the following sonnet)

(1) *m'invocabsti.*  
(2) *begli occhi*  
(3) *dov'io me*  
*struggo*

Amor tu men uesscasti (1) con doi be lumi  
de doi be hochi (2) douie mestrargo (3) e face  
da bianca neue e darose uiuace  
da un bel parlar in donessi costumi  
tal che tanto ardo che ne mar nefiumi  
spegniar potrian quel focho ma non mispiace  
poichel mio ardor tanto diben miface  
cardendo (4) ognior piu dar der (5) mecon[sumi]  
quanto fu doce (6) elgiogo e la catena  
dotoi (7) canididi braci al col [mio uolti]  
che sgliendomi (8) io sento mortal p[ena]  
daltre cose in (9) non dicho che for (10) tolte  
che soperchia docenza (11) amor[te mena]  
e pero tacio ate ipensier rivolti

(4) *ch'ardendo*  
(5) *d'arder*  
(6) *dolce.*  
(7) *de' tuoi*  
(8) *sciogliendomi*  
(9) *io*  
(10) *furono*  
(11) *doglienza*

(12) *Rime,*  
*Venetia 1558*  
*p 29*

This sonnet is written in the typical style of those days, similar to Bembo's 'Amor, mia uoglia' (12) where the poet also 'melts' (cosi mi struggo) one froze to ice and one burned to flames This exaggeration in the style is felt still more in Raphael's sonnet, and in this again we find the relation to Petrarca's 'Trionfo della morte' It is probable that Raphael must have admired the very fine passage where

(13) *I, 160 and*  
*following*

Laura's death is described as the extinction of a slow flame (13)

Non come fiamma che per forza è spenta,  
Ma che per se medesima si consume,  
Se n'andò in pace l'anima contenta,  
A guisa d'un soave e chiaro lume  
Cui nutrimento a poco a poco manca,  
Tenendo al fin il suo usato costume  
Pallida no, ma più che neve bianca,  
Che senza vento in un bel colle fiocchi  
Parea posar come persona stanca  
Quasi in dolce dormir ne' suoi begli occhi,  
Essendo 'l spirto già da lei diviso,  
Era quel che morir chiaman gli schiocchi  
Morte bella pareo nel suo bel viso

As in the first sonnet Raphael inserts a new turn in the 9<sup>th</sup> line, wherewith he introduces the beloved It reminds of the Roman poets, the expression 'd'altre cose io non dico' is the 'caetera quis nescit?' of Ovidius in the same elegy of 'Amores' (I, 5), of which we are reminded by the expression 'l'ora sesta era' in the first sonnet It belongs to one of the delicacies of Petrarca's poetical technique to encompass or meet the expressions already given, with a reflexive movement, as in the first lines of the 7<sup>th</sup> sonnet 'after Madonna Laura's death'

(14) *ci attende.*

Ochi miei, oscurato e 'l nostro sole,  
anzi è salito al cielo, ed ivi splende,  
ivi 'l vedremo ancor, ivi n'attende (14)  
e di nostro tardar forse li dole

Laura is now in heaven, where we shall see her again, she awaits us there, nay, she sorrows perhaps that we linger

Therefore we feel strongly the expression of Petrarca in Raphael's 'e pero tacio ate ipensier rivolti', and not only because it reminds of the line in the 10<sup>th</sup> sonnet, book II of 'Sonetti e Canzoni'

Che come i miei pensier dietro a lei vanno

yet more because it is used in the same well rounded manner The same concerns the 4<sup>th</sup> line 'da un bel parlar in donessi costumi', wherewith Raphael gives a fine

entireness to the persons, in contrast to the somewhat sentimental details wherein the scene at the beginning is dissolved This answers directly to Petrarca's 'Trionfo della morte' I, 7

— — col cor pudico  
e d'un bel viso e di pensier schivi,  
d'un parlar saggio et d'onestate amico

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Sonnet

The first and the second sketch of this sonnet are found on two originally joined drawings in the University College, Oxford Raphael had worked much with the thoughts in this sonnet, withdrawing the weak and assembling the vigorous expressions On one of the sheets is written the fair-copy of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sonnet

Come non podde dir darcana dei  
paul come disceso fu del cello (1) (1) *cielo*  
cusi e lmio cor duno amoroso uelo  
aricoperto tuti i penser mei  
Pero quanto chio uiddi e quanto Io fei  
pel gaudio taccio che nel petto celo  
ma prima cangero nel fronte el pelo  
che mai lobligo uolga in pensir rei  
E se quello altero almo in basso cede  
uedrai che non fia ame ma almio gra focho  
qual piu che ghialtri in la feruentia esciede  
ma pensa chel mio spirto apocho apocho  
el corpo lasara (2) setua mercede (2) *lasciera*  
socorso non li dia tempo elochio

The lines at the beginning are as Herman Grimm (3) remarked, a hidden quotation (3) *Leben Raphaels I, 373* from Luigi Pulci's 'Morgante maggiore' II, 108

E se Paulo già vide arcana Dei

this poem which Raphael in the note to Domenico Alfani wished to have a copy of, was read by every one as the classical poem it is

The expression 'altero almo' in the 9<sup>th</sup> line is, according to the various sketches, to be understood literally the loved woman was of high birth (per titrouarsi insi sublimo locho apoter dir nelmondo esar felice), Raphael designates himself as her subject (1 che sendo io tuo sogetto, 2 che sendo io tuo suddito huom), he says that he is of low descent, but of a noble mind which strives to exalt itself to great achievements and therefore believes that her virtues will exalt him little by little

ma homni (sic) anima gentil dibasso locho  
cercha surger gran cose e impero ofede  
che tua virtu mesalta apocho apocho

In the 5<sup>th</sup> sonnet the same allusion is made to her high rank and the princely life she leads which Raphael must avoid

disprezando le ponpe e dietrice e regni

This sonnet is unfinished, otherwise these direct allusions would perhaps have been omitted

### 4<sup>th</sup> Sonnet

Sketch on a sheet of paper at Oxford, the first four verses are repeated with alterations and with a new beginning of the second verse, the whole sonnet is unfinished We communicate here a combination of the two sketches

Sate (4) seruir parmi sdegniasse amore (4) *S'a te.*  
per liefetti dimostri dame in parte (5) *I Red. chio*  
Tu sai perche senza uergarte in carte *dimostai el*  
che dol ristrisse del ferite core (5) *contrario del*  
*mio core.*

(1) *al ciel*

Io grido edicho che tu sie el mio signiore  
 dal centro alcel (1) piu su che love o marte  
 e che schermo non ual ne ingenio ho arte  
 a schifar letue forze el tuo furore  
 E che quella chel sol unce di luce

— — — — —

conduce  
 riduce  
 aduce  
 luce (2)

(2) Typically  
 occurring rhyme  
 since Dante  
 (sonnet XXXV)

'dal centro alcel' is the antique-mediaeval representation that the centre of the earth keeps itself in the centre of the universe, and that the various celestial spheres arch themselves around the earth, that this centre keeps the powers of the heavens assembled, is here the underlying thought though it is perhaps not expressed in theory. We find a confirming parallel to this, that Raphael had this belief, which can be seen in his introduction to the treatise on the ruins of Rome, that the round arch was the strongest because its lines (radii) go to one centre.

5<sup>th</sup> Sonnet

Version on a sheet of paper in Musée Fabre, Montpellier (Fischel 146), yet can only be a copy which is betrayed in the finishing lines where the natural 'ingredie' (= ingrediente) is corrected to the meaningless 'ingre che'. Grimm's manner of reading is correct, except the word in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> line, which he read 'sculti' (= sciolti), whereas it is clearly written 'scultri' probably with a lacking prefix = inscultri.

Felllo pensier che inrecercar tafanni  
 chje dare inpreda el cor per piu tua pace  
 njon uedi tu gheffetti aspri e tenace  
 in|scultri che misurpa i piu belli anni  
 Durje fatiche euoi famosi afanni  
 r|isuegliate el pensier che motio giace  
 m|ostrateh quel cole (3) alto che face  
 s|ahr da bassi aipiu sublimi scanni

(3) *calle*

— — solo  
 — — uolo  
 — — stolo  
 — — dolo

(4) *ingenie*(5) *ingrediente*

in|juene alme celeste acute igni (4)  
 alc|un ingredie (5) scorze eoi uergati e sassi  
 disprezando leponpe e dietrice e regni

The line before the last is due to a text correction, in reality there stood *Jun ingn che scorze e forde eoi uergati e sassi*, of which again the first two syllables are crossed out, thus the line begins meaninglessly with *che*. In the original this 'che' may have been 'die' and allied to 'ingn', which might be read 'ingre', in all 'ingredie' = ingrediente. The line is now in any case too long, consequently we omit 'e forde'. But there is naturally a great uncertainty in the whole passage, already on the part of Raphael, though there can be no doubt as to the meaning.

## IV

1514 Letter to the brother of Raphael's mother, Simone Ciarla at Urbino. Not preserved in original. Richardson, *Traité de la peinture*, Amsterdam 1728, III, 462, communicated an extract of the supposed original in the possession of Cardinal Albani, it was probably identical with a copy in Lucantonio Giunta's Urbino chronicle, *Memorie storiche d'Urbino*, which Pungileoni published in his *Elogio storico de Raffaello Santi da Urbino* 1829, p. 158, therefrom Passavant took his text which as a rule is the one quoted, French edition I, 499. The present text is taken from the commemorative writing *Nel centenario di Raffaello da Urbino*, Roma 1883.

p 32 It differs from Passavant's in some orthographical details and in the signature (El vostro Rafael pittore in Roma) which is lacking it cannot be seen whence it has been taken, probably from Giunta A (new) collation of this first copy has not been possible The orthography does not quite agree with Raphael's, but the style seems to have been well preserved

Al mio carissimo zio Simone di Battista di Ciarle da [Urbino] in Urbino

Carissimo in loco de Padre Ho ricevuto una vostra a me carissima per intendare che voi non siete corociato con mecho, che in vero averiste torto, considerando quanto e fastidioso lo scrivere quando non importa, adesso importandomi ve rispondo per dirvi intirramente quanto io posso fare ad intendare Prima circa a tordona (1) (1) = torre donna ve rispondo che quella che voi mi volisti dare prima ne son contentissimo e ringratiatione Dio del contenuo di non haver tolta ne quella ne altra, et in questo son stato più savio di voi, che me la volevi dare Son certo che adesso lo conoscete ancora voi, ch'io non saria in locho dove io son, che fin in questo di mi trovo havere roba in Roma per tre mila ducati d'oro, e d'entrata cinquanta scudi d'oro, perchè la Santità N S mi ha dato perche io attenda alla fabrica de Santo Petro trecento ducati d'oro di provisione, li quali non mi sono mai per mancare sinche io vivo, e son certo haverne degl' altri e poi sono pagato di quello io lavoro quanto mi pare a me, et hò cominciato un' altra stantia per S Stà a dipignare che monterà mille ducento ducati d'oro sì che Carissimo zio vi fò honore à voi et à tutti li parenti et alla patria, ma non resta che sempre non vi habbia in mezzo al chore e quando vi sento nominare, che non mia paia di nominare un mio patre, e non vi lamentate di me che non vi scrivo, ch'io me haveria a lamentare di voi che tutto il di havete la penna in mano e mettite sei mesi da una lettera e l'altra, ma pure con tutto questo non mi farite corociare con voi, come voi fate con mecho a torto Sono uscito da proposito della moglie, ma per ritornare vi rispondo che voi sapete che Santa Maria in Portico me vol dare una sua parente, e con licenza del zio prete e vostra li promesi di fare quanto sua Rmā (2) Signoria voleva, non posso mancar di fede, simo più (2) Reverendissima. che mai alle strette, e presto vi avvisarò del tutto, habiate pazienza, che questa cosa si risolva così bona, e poi farò non sì facendo questa, quello voi vorite, e sapia che se Francesco Buffa hà delli partiti che ancor io ne hò, ch'io trovo in Roma una mamola bella secondo ho inteso di bonissima fame lei e il loro, che mi vol dare tre mila scudi d'oro in docta, e sono in casa in Roma che vale più cento ducati qui, che ducento là siatene certo Circa a star in Roma non posso star altrove più per tempo alcuno per amore della fabrica di santo Petro, che sono in locho di Bramante, ma qual locho è più degno al mondo che Roma, qual impresa è più degna di santo Petro, ch'è il primo tempio del Mondo, e che questa è la più gran fabrica che sia mai vista che monterà più d'un milione d'oro, e sapiate che'l papa ha deputato di spendare sessanta mila ducati l'anno per questa fabrica, e non pensa mai altre. Mi ha dato un Comp<sup>o</sup> frate doctissimo e vecchio de più d'octant'anni, el papa vede che'l puol vivere pocho, hà risoluto S Santità darmelo per compagno ch'e huomo di gran reputatione sapientissimo accio ch'io possa imparare, se ha alcun bello secreto in architectura, accio io diventa perfettissimo in quest' arte, ha nome fra Giocondo et onni di il Papa ce manda a chiamare, e ragiona un pezzo con noi di questa fabrica Vi prego voi voliate andare al Duca, e alla Duchessa (3) (3) Dowager-Duchess e dirli questo che sò (4) erro lo haveranno charo a sentire che un lor ser (4) si facci honore, e raccomandatemi a loro signoria, et io del continuo a voi mi raccomando Salutate tutti gli amici e parenti per parte mia, e massime a Ridolfo el quale hà tanto amore en verso di me. Alli primo Luglio 1514

### FALSE LETTERS

The following letters, which in part are already recognized as false, appeared each in their time, in collections of letters of celebrated men or women, for it was tempting to invent letters from Raphael, when it would be interesting to have one by his hand for some celebrated personality or other The reasons for falsifying



can everywhere be accurately determined, but it is more difficult to recognize the imitations by direct outward tokens, as the letters have either disappeared again or are kept secret. The two extant letters are said to be so 'superiorly executed' that connoisseurs were deceived by them

## I

1504 Letter of recommendation to Raphael from the Duchess of Sora to the Gonfalonero at Florence

The supposed original was in the possession of the family Gaddi at Florence, published by Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere I*, 1754, p 1 Sold by auction at Paris in 1856, later it disappeared (1)

(1) *Passavant I*,  
496

Magnifico, ac Excelso Dño tamquam Patri observmō  
Dño Virillifero Justitiae Excelsae Reipub Florentinae  
Magnifice ac excelse Domine tamquam  
Pater observandissime

Sarà lo esibitore di questa Raffaele pittore da Urbino, il quale avendo buono ingegno nel suo esercizio, ha deliberato stare qualche tempo in Fiorenza per imparare. E perchè il padre so che è molto virtuoso ed è mio affezionato, e così il figliolo discreto e gentile giovane, per ogni rispetto io lo amo sommamente, e desidero che egli venga a buona perfezione però lo raccomando alla Signoria Vostra strettamente, quanto più posso, pregandola per amor mio, che in ogni sua occorrenza le piaccia prestarli ogni aiuto, e favore, che tutti quegli piaceri e commodi che riceverà da V S li riputerò a me propria, e lo averò da quella per cosa gratissima, alla quale mi raccomando, ed effero Urbini prima octobris 1504

Ioanna Feltria de Ruvere  
Ducissa Sorae et Urbis Praefectissa

Already Padre Pungileoni who knew the year of the death of Raphael's father (1494) was surprised that the latter was mentioned as being alive in 1504, Rumohr tried to save this passage by a textual conjecture. But Grimm (2) and v Reumont have proved that the whole letter is unreliable, because it is framed in Vasari's terminology from the period of 1550. The expression 'ha deliberato stare qualche tempo in Fiorenza per imparare' answers to Vasari in *Vita di Fra Bartolomeo* 'venne in questo tempo Raffaello da Urbino pittore a imparare l'arte a Fiorenza', the expression 'buon ingegno', the adjectives 'gentile' and 'discreto' also savour of Vasari. The falsification which duped the confiding Bottari, is still defended in our days by Eugène Müntz (3), but by no others. It would be interesting if the letter could again be found to compare it with Raphael's so-called letter to Fabio Calvo (Nr IV), because both are very well preserved, even to the address and seal

(2) *I eben Raphaels I*, 53

(3) *Raphael*?,  
p 150, n I

## II

1508 Letter from Raphael at Rome to Francesco Francia at Bologna, 'original copy' in Count Lambertini's papers, published by Count Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, Bologna, 1678, II, 48

Messer Francesco mio Caro

Ricevo in questo punto il vostro ritratto recatomi da Bizzotto ben conditionato, e senza offesa alcuna del che sommamente vi ringrazio. Egli è bellissimo et tanto vivo che mi inganno talora, credendo mi di essere con voi, e sentire le vostre parole. Pregovi a compitarmi, e perdonarmi la dilazione e lunghezza del mio, che per le gravi e incessanti occupationi non ho potuto sin hora fare di mia mano, conforme il nostro ricordo che ve l'avrei mandato fatto da qualche mio giovane e da me ritocco che non si conviene. Anzi converriasi per conoscere non potere agguagliare il vostro. Compititemi per gratia perchè voi ancora avrete provato altre volte, che cosa voglia dir esser privo della sua libertà, e vivere obligato a padroni, che poi etc. Vi mando intanto per lo stesso che parte di ritorno fra sei giorni, un altro disegno, et è quello di quel presepe se bene diverso assai, come vedrete dall' operato, e che voi vi sete compiaciuto di lodar tanto, siccome fate incessantemente dell' altre mie cose, che mi sento arrosire, sì come faccio ancora di questa bagatella, che vi godete, perciò

più in segno di obbedienza e d'amore che per altro rispetto. Se in contraccambio riceverò quello della vostra istoria della Giuditta io lo reporrò fra le cose più care e preziose

Monsignore il Datario aspetta con grand'ansietà la sua Madonella e la sua grande il cardinale Riario com' tutto sentirete più precisamente da Bazotto. Io pure le mirerò con quel gusto e soddisfazione, che vedo e lodo tutte l'altre, non vedendone da nessun 'altro più belle e più devote e ben fatte. Fatevi in tanto animo valetevi della vostra solita prudenza et assicuratevi, che sento le vostre afflizioni come mie proprie. Seguite d'amarmi come io vi amo di tutto cuore. Rome di 5 Settembre 1508.

A servirvi sempre obligatissimo

Il vostro Raffaele Sanzio

Crowe and Cavalcaselle expressed a doubt as to the date of this letter, proposing to change it to 1516, thus admitting that Malvasia had corrected this date arbitrarily. The letter is generally looked upon as genuine except by Marco Minghetti (1) but without giving any motive

The very signature ought to have caused suspicion it being Vasari's way of writing. Also that Cardinal Riario is named thus and not after his titular church 'San Giorgio' by which he was known to all during his lifetime whilst on the contrary 'il Datario' ought to have been mentioned by his family name. The way it agrees with Vasari's biography of Raphael and Francia is also striking. Vasari mentioned a correspondence between these two artists, therefore it was not so strange that Count Malvasia wished to have a letter from Raphael to Francia in his Bologna history of artists (Felsina pittrice). Vasari says that Francia had painted a Judith in the letter Raphael asks for the cartoon of this picture in return for the drawing of 'The adoration of the shepherds', which he had sent Francia. Vasari even gives an example of how such a letter from an artist ought to be written as he quotes from a letter Raphael should have sent to Francia together with 'The holy Cecilia': 'se ci fusse nessun graffio che e l'acconciasse, e similmente conoscendosi alcuno errore, come amico lo correggesse'. Corresponding to this it is likewise said in this letter 'Ricevo in questo punto il vostro ritratto — e senza offesa alcuna del che sommamente vi ringrazio'. Finally the remark that Raphael was so much occupied and of the use he had of assistants is quite improbable in a letter from the year 1508. Apart from the style that has not the slightest connection with the genuine letters, the contents are so clearly a fabrication, that we cannot even imagine it to be an originally genuine letter reconstructed by Malvasia. — Neither can the theory of the genuineness of the letter be sustained by the sonnet to Raphael from Francia, also published by Malvasia in which Raphael is addressed as 'fortunato garzon' while, at the same time, he is extolled as master. This too agrees with Vasari's praise of Raphael's earlier works. To call him 'pupil' would be an offence, a fact which Grimm too recognized without, however, rejecting either the sonnet or the letter (2).

(1) Nuova Antologia 1883, Raffaello 1885 p. 66 n. I

(2) I c. F. 252

### III

About 1514 Letter from Raphael to Count Castiglione, published by Ludovico Dolce in 'Lettere di diversi eccellenti huomini Venezia 1554' quoted as a rule after Bottari I 116

Signor Conte

Ho fatto disegni in più maniere sopra l'invenzione di V. S. e sodisfaccio a tutti se tutti non mi sono adulatori ma non sodisfaccio al mio giudicio perchè temo di non sodisfare al vostro. Ve li mando V. S. faccia eletta d'alcuno se alcuno sarà da lei stimato degno. Nostro Signore con l'onorarmi m'ha messo un peso sopra le spalle. Questo è la cura della Fabbrica di S. Pietro. Spero bene di non cadervi sotto e tanto più quanto il modello che io n'ho fatto piace a sua Santità, ed è lodato da molti belli ingegni. Ma io mi levo col pensiero più alto. Vorrei trovare le belle forme degli antichi nè so se il volo sarà d'Icaro. Me ne porge una gran luce Vitruvio ma non tanto che basti. Della Galatea mi terrei un gran maestro se vi fossero la metà delle tante cose che V. S. mi scrive ma nelle sue parole riconosco l'amore che mi porta e le dico che per dipingere una bella, mi bisognerebbe veder più belle, con questa condizione che V. S. si trovasse meco a fare scelta del meglio. Ma

essendo carestia e di bnon giudicj, e di belle donne, io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene nella mente Se questa ha in se alcuna eccellenza d'arte, io non so, ben m'affatico d'averla V S mi comandi Di Roma

This celebrated letter is generally regarded as genuine but not as being written by his hand, it being quite clear that the style and expressions are totally different from Raphael's Crowe and Cavalcaselle who knew the letter from Pino, Nuova scelta di lettere, Venetia 1574 (1582) supposed that the presence thereof in a Venetian collection, might imply, that the letter originated from Pietro Aretino's estate, and that it was written by him in Raphael's name during his stay at Rome with Agostino Chigi (1)

(1) *Raphael*,  
d. A. II, 164

If the letter were genuine it must have been written at the earliest about the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1514, when Raphael was appointed architect of the church of St. Peter, after the acceptance of the model mentioned in the letter, on that day But since January of that year Castiglione was envoy for the Duke of Urbino at Rome, and it is thus improbable that Raphael would have written to him about his nomination as being something new, apart from the fact that the formal tone did not suit between such close friends The Papal letter is known from Bembo's 'Epistolae Leonis X nomine scriptae' (1588), Raphael's studies of Vitruvius were mentioned in Calcagnini's 'Opera aliquot' (1544) (2) In Ludovico Dolce's dialogue 'Aretino' (1557) the picture of Galathea was talked of It is also said here that Raphael made many sketches for his pictures and showed them to Aretino (alias Castiglione), Raphael is mentioned as the architect of S. Pietro We find here also the theory of the ideal figure as in the Ciceronian anecdote of Zeuxis and the girls of Croton (3) It must be said that the contents of the letter answer to what might be expected from Aretino and his friends, and the whole theorizing tendencies answer to the commencement of the academic period about the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century The stylistic turn too suggests this The expressions 'belli ingegni' and 'belle forme' are typical of the later period especially such as it is known from Vasari (4) In Raphael's time one said 'homo di bnon ingegno' or 'homo di gentil ingegno' (Castiglione) as in Raphael's memorial 'una pianta di forma rotonda', compare 'bella di forma' (Boccaccio) The transition can be seen in Serlio's style (1540) who both wrote 'la bellezza de la forma' and 'il qual capitello ha una bellissima forma' (5) Also the expressions 'e le dico' or 'ben ve dico' are unraphael-like and moreover are already to be found in Boccaccio in Raphael's letter to his uncle in 1514 he writes 'e sapia' (you must know), 'e sapiate' also in the letter of 1508 'sapete'

(2) *Doc. XL*

(3) 'Aretino',  
ed. Firenze  
1735, pages  
250, 96, 172,  
270 and 176.

(4) *Vocabolario  
dell' accademia  
della Crusca  
s. v. ingegno  
has first 'belli  
ingegni' by  
Tasso and Cel-  
lini (1556)*

(5) *Architettura  
ed. Venezia  
1584, lib. III,  
fol. 104<sup>v</sup> and  
108<sup>v</sup>*

(6) *Opere, Pa-  
dova 1733,  
p. 281*

(7) p. 20

As a comparison, we here quote part of a letter by Castiglione to Latino Juvenale Manetti 1519 (6), to show a very exaggerated example of the repetition of words in symmetrical form, affected by Castiglione, and which we suppose the falsifier has imitated in the beginning of the letter, and also a fragment of the letter of Monsignore Guiddicione to Aretino, likewise in the collection of Dolce (7) to demonstrate a parallel to the flattering style that is especially in evidence at the end, and which was characteristic of the period of 1550

(Castiglione) 'Così stanco, come io sono (che sono stanchissimo) di scrivere, scrivovi, M. Latino mio onorando e caro, e per la stanchezza vi scrivo breve, ma per scrivervi cosa che vi piaccia, mandovi qui inclusa una lettera a Taddeo, musico d'uno che gli addimanda denari — — Dategli la lettera, e dategli da mia parte, che io il prego, che voglia soddisfare etc.'

(Guiddicione) 'Se io mi tenessi degno di quelli lodi delle quali hauete hornato piu tosto la vostra lettera, che la mia indignità, mi riputerei d'assar più, che non sono Ma con tutto, ch'io non mi possa in questa parte gloriar del merito, mi debbo rallegrar della uentura — — Ben vi dico, che io trovo maggior contentezza nell' essere amato da voi, che nell' esser lodato, perche in questo mi uergogno di non corrispondere all' opinione — —'

On perusing two such proofs one after the other and then comparing them with the letter to Castiglione, one will get the impression that it was written by a man from the latter period, who amused himself by imitating the style of the

former period, but did it rather superficially. The art of falsification was thus here still in its infancy.

The letter was printed for the first time in 1554 in Aretino's lifetime († 1556) and served as a counterpart to Michelangelo's letter to Aretino (1) and letters from Tizian to royal personages. As in the dialogue of Dolce 'Aretino', Raphael and Michelangelo are mentioned together, Raphael as the most distinguished (1) in order to oppose Michelangelo, with whom Aretino was in enmity, and finally to extol Tizian above the others. Such was the policy of Aretino (and Tizian). It was thus granted that Aretino had to possess such a letter from Raphael to a man of quality. The case of Malvasia's letter from Raphael to Francia was in analogy thereto.

(1) *First time in Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini et eccellentissimi ingegni Vinegia, Aldus 1544*

#### IV

1514 Letter from Raphael to Fabio Calvo at Ravenna. The pretended original is well preserved with address and seal (cf. the false letter from the Duchess of Sora) sold in 1909 by auction at Sotheby in London, it is not known where the letter is now. According to the description (2) it is dated 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1514, signed 'El vostro Raphiaelo dipindore'. It promises herein drawings for an edition of Vitruvius which the artist thinks of executing when his many obligations permit of his so doing.

(2) *Der Cicerone 1909, p. 175*

Against the genuineness thereof can be given the signature which seems copied from the letter of Raphael to his uncle (1508) with intentional alteration of 'Raphaello' to 'Raphiaelo', and of 'dipintore' to 'dipindore', likewise the address to Fabio Calvo at Ravenna came about probably, because the old man who at that period translated Hippocrates for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (3), was born at Ravenna and was named Marco Fabio Calvo da Ravenna, but he lived without doubt at Rome. Finally the period is improbable, for in 1514 Raphael could obtain information about Vitruvius through his old well informed colleague Fra Giocondo, and only after the latter's death must he have felt the want of a translation, it was even later that his archaeological studies really commenced. But thus the falsifier could scarcely know, as on the contrary, through Castiglione's letter, he was given to imagine that Raphael on about the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1514 studied Vitruvius zealously. In a note to Vasari (4) these lines can be read which probably served for the falsification of this letter: 'gli studi ch'ei fece intorno a Vitruvio, l'opera del quale a sua istanza fu tradotta in volgare (e dicesi da la prima volta) da Marco Fabio Calvo, dotto ravennate, verso il 1514'.

(3) *Müntz, Raphael 2, p. 430 Passavant I, 200*

(4) *Opere, ed. Milanese IV, 370 n. 2*

#### V

A false sonnet Ariodante Marianni communicated after Colbacchini such a one in the belief that it was genuine in *Sonetti di Raffaello Sanzio dichiarati e per la prima volta illustrati con note filologiche etc.* Forlì 1874, p. 22. According to report it was found under a portrait of la Fornarina (1).

## RAFFAELLO DA URBINO'S MEMORIAL OF THE RUINS OF ROME

Many contemporary writers mention the archaeological works of Raphael in identical terms (1), and among these Paolo Giovio describes Raphael's method of excavating by means of compass and theodolite, as it can be read in detail in the so-called memorial. Also Vasari mentions this writing at the end of his *Vite* stating that in working at it he got much help from Ghiberti's, Ghirlandajo's and Raphael's writings (2), that he here refers to the memorial can be proved by a comparison of that passage in Vasari's *'Proemio delle Vite'* (3), where he speaks of the decay of the Roman sculpture and painting taking place sooner than the decay of architecture with precisely the same passage in the memorial.

(1) *Doc. XL*

(2) *Opere ed  
Milanesi VII.,  
727*

(3) *Opere ed  
Milanesi I 224*

### Memorial

'Though literature, sculpture and painting and nearly all the other arts slowly fell into decay and got worse towards the period of the last emperors, architecture observed and maintained its good principles and built in the same style as previously, thus among the other arts it was the last to perish, this can be recognized in more than one case, among others in the arch of Constantine, the composition of which is beautiful and well made in all that concerns architecture. But the sculptures of the same arch are without taste and art, or any good design. Those (sculptures) which are of (the arches of) Trajanus and Antoninus Pius are excellent and of a perfect style. The same is to be seen in the *thermae* of Diocletianus that the sculptures from his time are in the worst style and badly executed, and the remains of paintings which can be seen have nothing in common with those from the period of Trajanus or Titus, and yet the architecture is still noble and well understood.'

### Vasari

'Though sculpture and painting persevered until the end of the period of the 12 emperors yet they did not continue with the same perfection as they had before, therefore one can see in the buildings which the emperors executed as they succeeded one another that these arts sank day by day, as they little by little lost the art of perfect drawing. Thus the works executed in the time of Constantine at Rome were a testimony thereof especially his triumphal arch which the Roman people raised for him close to the Colosseum for here it can be seen that because of the lack of good masters not alone marble reliefs were used from the time of Trajanus but also things which were stolen and brought together from different places of Rome. — — —

But it is true, that in those times architecture had suffered less than the other arts, for one sees in the *thermae* of Constantine by the Lateran at the entrance of the principal portico that not alone the porphyry pillars, marble capitals and the double bases, which are taken from elsewhere, are admirably sculptured, but that also the composition of the whole is quite well understood while on the contrary the stucco, the mosaics and other incrustations of the surfaces executed by the contemporary masters, cannot be compared with those which he caused to be brought to the same *thermae*, for the most part from temples of the heathen gods.

(4) *Orazione  
funerale p. 30*  
(5) *Elogio storico di alcuni  
Personaggi  
della Famiglia  
Castiglione,  
Padova 1606  
p. 429*

Also Benedetto Varchi, in his funeral oration over Michelangelo, mentions the writings of Raphael (4)

The historical writer of the Castiglione family Antonio Beffa Negrini (5), says however, that at the beginning of Count Castiglione's *'Registro delle sue Lettere'* is to be found *'una lunga e ben grave Lettera volgare'*, which was written by Castiglione to this Mariani had already alluded in his biography of Castiglione in the Venetian edition of *'il Cortegiano'* 1584, (una sua lettera a Papa Leon X.) This ma-

manuscript has now been found by Vittorio Cian in the family library at Mantua, it is described by Venturi (1) as 'un fascicolo de 10 carte autografe del Castiglione correzioni pur di mano di M Baldassare' Thus, or a similar manuscript was published in 1733 by Scipione Maffei under the name of Castiglione in the brethren Volpi's edition of his writings (2) It was then doubted that the memorial had, on the whole, ever been written by Raphael, but Daniele Franceschini maintained in 1799 that the testimony of the contemporaries deserved credence (3) In 1834 Gubath found in the Hofbibliothek in München a new manuscript with a different text (Cod Ital 37<sup>b</sup>), which was published by Passavant and in a more recent period by Julius Vogel (4)

Thus two versions of the text exist, one which is represented by the manuscript in Mantua and by the text of Maffei, which according to Cian is almost the same (non offre notevoli varianti) the other which is represented by the manuscript at Munich Venturi has compared them stylistically and has come to the conclusion that the last version is the most primitive, while the first, which he attributes to Castiglione, is more elegant, in some parts shorter, thereby betraying itself as the derived manuscript This supposition is furthermore strengthened by the fact, that certain abridged parts are now meaningless because of interpolations from another connection, so that 'Castiglione' did not understand the original text and thus cannot be the writer thereof The following examples are especially characteristic

#### *The text of Munich Fol 3<sup>r</sup>*

Le edifici adunque moderni sono notissimi, sì per esser noui etc Che auegna che ad nostri l'architectura sia molto sneghiata etc Li edifici poi del tempo delli Gotti etc.

By omitting to write the period 'Che auegna' etc the writer brought pleonastically 'a di nostri' to 'moderni' The following parallels are still more enlightening

#### *The text of Munich Fol 3<sup>r</sup>*

E ben ch'io habbia cauato da molti auctori Latini quello ch'io intendo di dimostrare tra ghialtri non dimeno ho principalmente seguitato P Victore, il quale per esser stato de gli ultimi puo dar più particular notitia delle ultime cose non pretermittendo anchor le antiche, et uedesi che concorda nel scriuer le regioni con alcuni marmi antichi nelli quali medesimamente son descritte

E per che ad alcuno potrebbe parere che difficil fosse el cognoscere li edifici antiqui dalli moderni, o li più antichi dalli meno antichi etc

This last addition to the text of Maffei is meaningless, and is due to the false belief that after the words 'le antiche' should follow 'vie', whereas Raphael meant 'cose', saying that he will not only speak of the new edifices described by Publius Victor but also of the older ones (5) Neither was the next sentence which was crossed out in the Maffei text probably understood by the author Here was alluded to an inscription on a base in the museum of the Capitol giving information of some of the regions in ancient Rome dedicated to Hadrian in the year 136 (6)

In realities the text of Munich is thus alone of value, also in the dating 'poi ch'io sono in Roma che ancora non sono dodici anni' which in the Castiglione manuscript is altered to 'poi ch'io sono in Roma che anchor non è il 14° anno', this latter corrected to 'l' 11° anno' (= Maffei) The interpolation of the name of Bartolomeo da Rovere in a wrong place of the Maffei text is very curious, but unhappily cannot be verified (7)

#### *The text of Maffei*

Gli edifici adunque moderni e di tempi nostri sono notissimi sì per esser nuovi, etc [Che auegna etc. was crossed out] — — ne così goffa come quelli del tempo de' Gotti

#### *The text of Maffei*

E benchè io abbia cavato da molti autori Latini quello che intendo di dimostrare però tra gli altri principalmente ho seguito — — il quale per esser stato degli ultimi, può dar piu presto particular notizia delle ultime cose.

E perchè forse a Vostra Santità potrebbe parere che difficil fosse il conoscere gli edifici antichi dalli moderni, o li più antichi dalli meno, non premetterò ancor le vie antiche

(1) *L'arte XVI*, 1918, p 65

(2) *Opere volgari e latine* Padova 1733

(3) *Congellura che una lettera credula di Baldassar Castiglione sia di Raffaello d'Urbino* Firenze 1799

(4) *Bramante u Raphael*, 1910

(5) *Publius Victor, De regionibus Urbis Romae, libellus aureus*, Roma 1503 or 1504

(6) *C I L. VI 975, Richter, Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 1901, p 12 Preller, *Regionen* p 246

(7) *Müntz Raphael* p 606

The memorial contains besides this personal date (*poi ch'io sono in Roma*) various chronological allusions. The most important is the address to the Pope as **PEACE-MAKER BETWEEN CHRISTIAN PRINCES**, for though such an address always might be used to a Pope, it especially suited Leo X after the peace between Francis I and Henry VII (October 1518), a peace for which Leo X gladly attributed to himself the honour and which was based upon an idea for a crusade against the Turks. Thus the memorial may be dated to about 1519 or later, yet not after the rupture between Leo X and Francis I 1521. Reckoned from 1519, the arrival of the author at Rome, 'not twelve years since' might be placed at about 1507, and reckoned from 1520 to about 1508. Yet notwithstanding this the destruction of the Meta in Borgo is here mentioned, a tombal pyramid (the so called 'Meta Romuli') resembling the pyramid of Cestius ('Meta Remi'), which was demolished in 1499 by Alexander VI in the laying down of the street to the church of St Peter, Borgo Alessandrina. Herman Grimm (1) concluded thus, that the author was to be sought among the older archaeologists, probably Andrea Fulvio, and Julius Vogel (2) attributed the authorship to Bramante, the writing of it being thus placed at about 1510—1511. Yet one cannot dwell on such a detail, which may alone be due to an inaccuracy of the author. The demolition of the Meta was so notorious that Müntz maintained against Grimm that it may well have been discussed for a considerable period of time, moreover it was not wholly demolished before 1512 (3). The other devastations mentioned are difficult to date, except that of Foro Transitorio 'just in these days' which probably refers to the events of 1520 mentioned in the biography.

Concerning the stylistical problem, which until now one thought to solve categorically by saying that Raphael personally could never have been the author of such an elaborate and extensive writing, he not being a writer by profession. This was, a hasty decision, for it was forgotten that Raphael was a poet. In reality we find in the sonnets proofs of his authorship, when one of them runs

Dure fatiche, e uoi famosi affanni  
Risuegliate el pensier che en oïo giace

and in the text of Munich

risuegliare glingegni dar premio alle uirtuose fatiche

it would seem that the expressions and sentiments are those of the same man. The purely practical part of the memorial which one admits that Raphael must have written, possesses the same clear and natural form as the rest, so that also from this we would come to the conclusion that he wrote the whole. On the other side it is true as Venturi has shown that certain expressions in the memorial remind of Count Castiglione's ode to Raphael, namely when in the comparison of ancient Rome with a lacerated corpse it is said (Fol. I<sup>r</sup>)

uedendo quasi el cadauero di quest' alma nobile cittate — — così miseramente lacerato  
which answers to the lines of Castiglione

Tu quoque dum toto laniatam corpore Romam  
Componis miro, Raphael, ingenio,  
Atque urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver  
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus

But this may also just as well be used as a proof that Raphael really wrote the memorial, and that Castiglione in appreciation thereof makes use of the same rhetorical phrases, and it must not be overlooked that already Poggio Bracciolini in his short treatise on the ruins of Rome (about 1430, printed 1510, published 1511) uses similar expressions — see the citation at the end of this chapter, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> line — a writing which, probably also in other cases, the author of the memorial made use of.

It likewise does not tell against Raphael's authorship that the memorial (Fol. 2<sup>v</sup>) contains a citation of Petrarca's Canzone to Cola di Rienzo 'Spirto gentil' — see p. 119, note 9 — which G. Mestica has demonstrated in his treatise 'La cultura ed i sentimenti

(1) *de Incerto auctore etc., Zahn's Jahrbücher IV, 1871 p. 67*

(2) *Bramante u. Raphael, 1910*

(3) *Gaz. d. B. A. 1880, II, 455*

politici di Raffaello' (1), for also in the sonnets are found clear reminiscences of Petrarca. In Petrarca's canzone the weeping women, the children and the old men beg the hero for help, continuing with the words

(1) *Nuova Antologia* 1899 LXXIX, 630

E la povere gente sbigottita  
Ti scopre le sue piaghe a mille a mille,  
Ch' annibale, non ch' altri, farian pio

The subject of 'farian' is 'le sue piaghe' (corresponding in the memorial to 'colonne rotte'). These might even convert a Hannibal to say nothing of the others. Vogel understood Hannibal as the subject and translates 'das wohl Hannibal nicht aber andere gottesfürchtig handeln würden', which is meaningless.

If Raphael needed literary advice in respect to the orthography or the rhetorical form of some of the parts, Girolamo Vagnini, who seems to have been his secretary (2), could have given him all the help needed, or old Fabio Calvo da Ravenna, who lived in his house to translate Vitruvius, and who was his adviser in all things. Calvo's translation of Vitruvius at Munich (Cod. Ital. 37) is written in the same clear style as the memorial, but if it is possible to conclude anything from this, we are not capable of determining. Raphael certainly must have also spoken to Castiglione of the memorial which was so near to his heart, but it can only have been after Raphael's death, that Castiglione wrote the so-called text of Maffei.

(2) *Doc. LVI*

Thus we must consider the manuscript of Munich as being the first text, and we can point out a spot where a correction herein (Fol. 9<sup>r</sup> L. 17), a change of words has been taken up in the text of Maffei, so that it is probable that this text is written after it, with the omission of other and worse corrections. With the obliging help of the Hofbibliothek at Munich we can communicate a new edition of Codex Italicus 37<sup>b</sup> on the basis of photographs.

Our text differs from Vogel's essentially by a more accurate punctuation, the correction of some misprints and words omitted, and in some new ways of reading of which we shall merely mention the following.

Fol. 10<sup>r</sup> L. 3. Passavant and Vogel read 'crucitra' which is not Italian, the manuscript shows quite clearly 'cruciera' cross-vault.

Fol. 5<sup>r</sup> L. 7 is a word from the Maffei text by both publishers inserted in the text of Munich instead of a word which they could not read, the manuscript gives 'fernosi' which must be an error in writing for 'fornosi' (stayed) but Passavant and Vogel print, after the Maffei text, 'divenero' and 'divennereto', which means the same thing but which certainly was not Raphael's word.

Fol. 7<sup>r</sup> L. 2 is an abbreviation 'in' (infimo?) by the two publishers read as 'un'.

The other abbreviations in the manuscript (che, per, Padre, Santità, Christiani etc.) are here written unabbreviated, whereas Vogel printed these words without any sign of abbreviation which rendered them meaningless.

There are difficulties in the translation which can be overcome by means of the contemporary terminology, perspective and technical, and by looking up the citations in question from Italian or Latin authors. An archaeological difficulty which cannot be interpreted is the expression 'tempio di Cerere in via sacra', for there was no temple of Ceres on the via Sacra but close to Circus Maximus, the author being acquainted with this from Publius Victor to whom he refers, probably it must therefore be read Castor temple, but the question is then, which of the antique ruins the author had in mind for as to this temple's situation opinions differed. Albertini calls it 'Templum Castoris et Pollucis in via sacra in foro Ro sub palatio', he identifies it, as Publius Victor had done, with the fine ruin still known as such, but adds 'nonnulli volunt fuisse ubi nunc est ecclesia Sancti Loy (S. Lorenzo in Miranda? = Antoninus and Faustina's temple)'. Raphael Volaterranus (*Descriptio Urbis ed. de Benedictis*, Bologna 1520) identified it with SS. Cosma e Damiano, and Poggio Bracciolini, of whom the author stylistically was dependent, finally thought of Venus and Roma's temple close to the Colosseum. 'Castoris insuper et Pollucis edes contigue loco edito in via sacra — — hodie Mariam nouam appellant' (fol. 67<sup>r</sup>). With the 'Basilica on the Forum — —', which in the manuscript is not further determined, the Basilica Julia on Forum Romanum was probably thought of, which was



(1) *Lanciani. The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome 1897, p 279*

practically demolished by Cardinal Adrian Corneto 1496 for the building of Palazzo Corneto (Giraud-Torlonia), the excavations thereof continuing in 1511 and 1514 (1)

To these introductory remarks we shall add an extract of the ancient writing on the Roman ruins upon which Raphael depended for the literature, and the decree passed by the Roman Senate against the marble excavators, of 15<sup>th</sup> March 1520

(2) *literature Gregorius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, VI 700 Burckhardt, Cultur d. Renaissance, I, 226*

Poggio Bracciolini, De Fortune varietate urbis Rome et de ruina ejusdem Descriptio (about 1430) Historiae etc., Argentine 1510 (preface 1511) (2)

Fol 66<sup>v</sup> Quo magis dictu admirabile est et acerbum aspectu adeo speciem formamque ipsius immutasse fortune crudelitatem ut nunc omni decore nudata prostrata iaceat instar gigantis cadaveris corrupti atque undique exosi — —

— — quondam rerum dominam nunc fortune omnia vertentis in iniquitatem non solum imperio maiestatemque sua spoliata, sed addictam vilissime servituti deformem, abjectam sola ruina preteritam dignitatem ac magnitudinem ostentantem

Fol 67<sup>v</sup> Stupenda quippe vis est ac varietas fortune que etiam ipsas edificiorum moles, quas extra fatum illarum conditores existimabant, funditus demolita nihil fere ex cunctis reliqui fecit.

Fol 67<sup>v</sup> Castoris insuper & Pollucis edes contigue loco edito in via sacra altera orientem, altera occidentem versus hodie Mariam nonam appellant. Inclytus quondam cogendi senatus locus maiori ex parte collapse parvis vestigiis

Capitolia contigua forum versus superest porticus edis Concordie quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi ferme integram opere marmoreo admodum specioso Romani post modum ad calcem edem totam et porticus partem disiectis columnis sunt demoliti

(3) *Archives of the Senate. Lanciani, Storia degli scavi di Roma I, 1902, p 195*

The decree Contra devastatores monumentorum (3)

Primus Conservator exposuit qualiter de auctorum Romanorum gestis in amplitudine edificiorum et illorum decore nil aliud his presentibus temporibus oculatum videtur nisi condita palatia, termæ, arcus, theatra et amfiteatra ac balnea aquarumque latrine que omnia si Romanorum facultas tanta esset quod restaurare et conservare possent nulli dubium ad ostendendum illorum animi et potentie vires omnibus qui ex documentis ipsorum notitiam habent et locorum inspectione certiores redderentur. Que omnia prae viribus inlesa custodiri debent. Qua propositione audita beneque in huiusmodi senatus consultu cognita per patres ibidem manentes decretum extitit quod si facultas restituerandi Romanis deest a devastationibus tueantur rei que dum inveniuntur gravi pena puniantur

## THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF MUNICH

(Fol 1<sup>v</sup>) SONO MOLTI Padre Beatissimo, che misurando col loro debile giudicio le grandissime cose, che delli Romani, circa larme et della città di Roma circa 'l mirabile artificio ricchezze ornamenti et grandezza delli edifici si scriuono. Più presto estimano quelle fabulose che uere, Ma altramente ame sole anenire, et auiene. Perche, considerando dalle relique, che anchor si ueggono per le ruine di Roma, la diminuitate di quelli animi antichi, non estimo for di ragione credere, che molte cose, di quelle che anoi paiono impossibile che adessi erano (4) facilissime. Onde essendo io stato assai studioso di queste tale antiquitati et hauendo posto non piccola cura in cercarle minutamente et in misurarle con diligentia e leggendo di continuo di buoni auctori et conferendo (5) lopere con le loro scripture, penso hauer conseguito qualche notitia di quell' antiqua architectura ilche in un punto mi da grandissimo piacere per la cognitione di tanto eccellente cosa et grandissimo dolore, vedendo quasi el cadauero di quest alma nobile cittate che e stata regina del mondo, cosi miseramente lacerato. Onde se adognuno e debita la pietade verso li parenti et la patria, mi tengo obligato di exponere tutte le mie piccole forze, azioche piu che (fol 1<sup>v</sup>) si puo resti uina qualche poco di immagine e quasi un ombra di questa che inuero e patria uniuersale di tutti li Christiani et per un tempo e stata tanta nobile et potente che gia comincianano glihomini a credere che essa sola sotto il cielo fosse

(4) crossed out and superscribd  
bei passero  
Maffe 'e-ano

(5) these three words on  
razare

sopra la fortuna, e contra 'l corso naturale, exempta dalla morte et per durare perpetuamente (1), Onde parue che 'l tempo come inuidioso della gloria delli mortali, non confidatosi pienamente delle sue forze sole se accordasse con la fortuna et con li profani et scelerati Barbari, li quali alla edace lima et uenenoso morso di quello aggonsero lempio furore del ferro et del fuoco Onde quelle famose opere che oggi di piu che mai sarebbon florente et belle, fuorno dalla scelerata rabbia et crudel' impeto di maluagi huomini anzi fere, arse et distrutte, ma non pero tanto che non ui restassi quasi la machina del tutto (2), ma senza ornamenti, (et per dir cosi) lossa del corpo senza carne, Ma perche ci doleremo noi de Gotti de Vandalli et d'altri tali perfidi inimici del nome Latino, se quelli che come padri et tuttori deueuano diffendere queste pouere reliquie di Roma, essi medesimi hanno atteso con ogni studio lungamente a distrugerle et a spegnerle, Quanti Pontefici, Padre (fol 2<sup>r</sup>) Santo, quali haueuano el medesimo officio che ha V Santita ma non gia et medesimo sapere ne'l medesimo ualore et grandezza di animo, Qnanti dico Pontefici hanno permesso le ruine et disfacimenti delli templi antichi delle statue delli archi et d'altri edifici gloria delli lor fondatori, Qnanti hanno comportato che solamente per pigliare terra pozzolana si siano scauati (3) i fondamenti! Onde in poco tempo poi li edifici sono uenuti a terra! Qnanta calcina si é fatta di statue et d'altri ornamenti antichi! che ardirei dire che tutta questa nona Roma che hor si uede, quanto grande chella vi sia quanto bella quanto ornata di pallazi di chiese et de altri edifici sia fabricata di calcina fatta di marmi antichi (4), ne senza molta compassione posso io ricordarmi, che poi ch'io sono in Roma che anchora non sono dodici anni, son state ruinate molte cose belle, Come la meta ch'era nella uia alexandrina, l'arco che era alla entrata delle therme diocletiane et el tempio di Cerere nella uia sacra, una parte del foro transitorio che pochi di sono fu arsa et distrutta e de li marmi fattone calcina, ruinata la magior parte della basilica del foro, oltra di questo tante colonne rotte et fesse pel mezzo tanti architraui tanti (fol 2<sup>r</sup>) belli fregi spezzati che é stato pur una infamia di questi tempi lhauerlo sostenuto et che si potria dire ueramente ch'annibale non che altri fariano pio, Non debbe adunche Padre Santo esser tra gli ultimi pensieri di uostra Santita lo hauer cura che quello poco che resta di questa anticha matre della gloria et nome italiano, per testimonio di quelli Animi diuini che pur thalhor, con la memoria loro excitano et destano alle uirtu, li spiriti che hoggi di sono tra noi non sia extirpato in tutto e guasto dalli maligni et ignoranti, che pur troppo si sono in sino a qui facte ingurie a quelli animi che col sangue loro, parturirono tanta gloria al mondo, et a questa patria et a noi, ma piu presto cerchi V Santita lassando uino el paragone de li antichi aguagliarli et superarli, come ben fa con magni edifici et col nntire et fanorire le uirtuti et risnegliare gliuegni dar premio alle uirtuose fatiche, spargendo el santissimo seme della pace tra li principi Christiani, Per che come dalla calamitate della guerra nasce la distruzione e ruina di tutte le discipline et arti, Così dalla pace et concordia, nasce la felicitate a popoli et il laudabile ocio per il quale adesse si pno dar opera (fol 3<sup>r</sup>), et aggonger' al colmo della excellentia Come pur per el diuin consiglio et auctorita di V Santita sperano tutti che s'habbia a peruenire al secol nostro, E questo é lo esser ueramente Pastore Clementissimo anzi Padre ophimo di tutto el mondo Ma per ritornar adir' di quello che poco ananti hotocco dico che hauendomi V Santita comandato ch'io ponessi in disegno Roma anticha quanto cognoscier si puo, per quello, che oggi di si vede, con gli edifici che disé dimostrano tal reliqui, che per uero argomento si possono infallibilmente ridurre nel termine proprio, come stauano facendo quelli membri che sono in tutto ruinati, ne si ueggono punto corrispondenti a quelli che restano in piedi e che si ueggono, Per il che ho usato ogni diligentia a me stata possibile acioche l'animo di V. Santita et di tutti gh'altri che se delecta vanno di questa nostra fatica restino senza confusione. ben satisfatti E ben ch'io habbia cauato da molti auctori latini quello ch'io intendo di dimostrare tra gh'altri non dimeno ho principalmente seguitato P Victore el qual per esser stato de gli ultimi puo dar piu particular notitia delle ultime cose non pretermettendo anchor le antiche, et uedesí che concorda nel scriuer le regioni con alcuni marmi antichi nelli quali medesimamente son descritte.

(Fol 3<sup>r</sup>) E per che ad alcuno potrebbe parere che difficil fosse el cognoscere li

(1) *imitates Poggio, de Fortune uarietate fol 66<sup>r</sup>*

(2) *compare Vasari, Introduzione alle Vite Opere ed Milanesi I, 136, on the simplification of the form of St Peter's by Michelangelo nel riunire insieme il corpo di quella machina Serlio (Lib IV, fol 26<sup>r</sup>) mentions the core of the building 'edificio integro*

(3) *underlined, superscribed 'scalzati', not taken in the Maffei text*

(4) *compare Poggio de Fortune uarietate, fol 67<sup>r</sup>*

edificij antiqui dalli moderni o li piu antichi dalli meno antichi, Per non lassar' dubbio alcuno nella mente de chi uorra hauer questa cognitione, dico che questo con poca fatica far si puo Per che di tre maniere di edificij solamente si ritrouano in Roma, delle quali la una é di que buoni antichi che durorno dalli primi Imperatori sino al tempo che Roma fu ruinata e guasta dalli gotti et da altri Barbari, L'altra Duró tanto che roma fu dominata da Gotti et anchora cento anni di poi, L'altra da quel tempo sino alli tempi nostri, Li edificij adunqua moderni sono nottissimi, si per esser noui, come per non essere anchora in tutto gionta ne alla excellentia ne a quella immensa spesa che nelli antichi si uede, et considra, Che auegna che a di nostri Larchitectura sia molto suegliata et ridutta assai proxima alla maniera dell' antichi, come si uede per molte belle opere di Bramante, niente di meno, li ornamenti non sono di materia tanto pretiosa come li antichi, che con infinita spesa par che mettersero adeffetto cio che imaginarno, E che solo el lor uolere rompesse ogni difficultate, Li edificij poi del tempo delli Gotti (*fol 4<sup>r</sup>*) sono talmente priui d'ogni gratia senza maniera alcuna, dissimili dalli antichi e dalli moderni, Non é adunqua difficile cognoscere quelli del tempo delli Imperatori, li quali son li piu eccellenti e fatti con piu bella maniera e magior spesa et arte di tutti gli altri, E questi soli intendiamo di dimostrare, ne bisogna che nel animo di alcuno nasca dubbio, che tra li edificij antiqui, li meno antichi fossero men belli o men bene intesi o daltra maniera, Per che tutti erano duna ragione, E benché molte uolte, molti edificij dalli medesimi antichi fossero ristaurati, (Come si legge che nel medesimo luoco dou'era la casa Aurea di Nerone di poi furono edificate le therme di Tito e la sua casa, e l'Amphitheatro, niente di meno erano facti con la medesima maniera e ragione che gl'altri edificij anchor piu antichi che 'l tempo di Nerone e coetanei della casa Aurea) E ben che le lettere la scultura la Pictura e quasi tutte laltre arti fossero longamente ite in declinatione et peggiorando fino al tempo de gliultimi Imperatori, Pur Larchitectura si osseruaua et manteneasi con bona ragione et edificauasi con la medesima maniera che prima, E fu questa tra (*fol 4<sup>r</sup>*) le altre arti lultima che si perese, E questo cognoscier si puo da molte cose e tra laltre da larco di costantino il componimento del quale é bello e ben fatto in tutto quel che appartiene allarchitectura Ma le sculture del medesimo archio sono sciochissime senza arte o disegno alcuno, buono, Quelle che ui sono delle spoglie di traiano e di antonino pio sono eccellentissime e di perfetta maniera[ ] Il simile siuede nelle therme Diocletiane che le sculpture del tempo suo sono di malissima maniera et mal facte e le reliquie di pictura che ui si uegono, non hano che fare con quelle del tempo di Traiano et di Tito Et pur larchitectura é nobile et ben intesa ma poi che Roma intutta dalli barbari fu ruinata arsa et distrutta parue che quello incendio et quella misera ruina ardesse et ruinasse in sieme con li edificij anchora larte dello edificare, Onde essendosi tanto mutata la fortuna de Romani Et succedendo in luoco delle infinite uictorie et triumphi la calamitate et la miseria della seruitu, come non si conuenisse, a quelli, che gia erano subiugati et facti serui altrui habitar di quel modo et con quella grandezza che faceuano quando essi haueuano sugiogati li barbari, Subito con (*fol 5<sup>r</sup>*) la fortuna si muto el modo dello edificare et habitare, et apparue uno extremo tanto lontano da laltro quanto e la seruitute dalla libertate, E ridusse a maniera conforme alla sua miseria senza arte o misura o gratia alcuna Et parue che glihuomini di quel tempo in sieme con limperio perdessero tutto lo ingegno e larte et fernosi (1) tanti ignoranti che non sepero far pur li matoni cotti non che altra sorte di ornamenti, E scrustauano li muri antiq[ui] per torne le pietre cotte et in piccioli quadretti riducendo li marmi con essi murauano dividendo con quella mistura le parete, come hor si uede nella torre che si chiamo delle miltie E cosi per bon spatio di tempo seguitorno con quella ignorantia che intutte quelle cose del lor tempo si uede, Et parue che non solamente in italia uenisse questa atroce et crudel procella di guerra e di distrutione, ma si distendesse anchora in grecia doue gia forno gl'inuentori eli perfetti maestri di tutte larti, onde anchor lá nacque una maniera di pictura et di scultura et architectura pessima, et di niuno ualore Cominciossi di poi quasi per tutto a surgere la maniera dellarchitecture tedescha, che come anchor' (*fol 5<sup>r</sup>*) siuede nelli ornamenti e lontanissima della bella maniera, dell' romani et anticha, li quali oltra la machina di tutto lo edificio haueano bellissime le cornice li fregi e gli architraui, le colonne

(1) = 'fornosi'

et i capitelli e le base (1) et in suma tutti gualtri ornamenti di perfietta et bellissima maniera E li tedeschi la maniera delli quali, in molti luochi anchor dura spesso per ornamento pongono un qualche figurino ranichiato mal fatto et peggio inteso per mensola a sostenere un trauo et altri strani animali e figure, et fogliami fuor dogni ragione Pur questa architectura hebbe qualche ragione (2), Pero che nacque dalli arbori non anchor tagliati, alli quali piegati li rami et rilegati insieme fanno li lor terzi acuti, E ben che questa origine non sia intutto da sprezzare pur e debile, perche molto piu reggerebbono Le capanne fatte di traue incatenati et posti auso di colonne con li colmi loro et coprimenti come descrue uictruui della origine del' opera Dorica che li terzi acuti li quali hanno dui centri, Et pero anchora molto piu sustiene (secondo la ragion mathematica) un mezzo tondo el quale ogni sua linea tira adun solo (*fol 6r*) centro Et oltra la debolezza el terzo acuto non ha quella gratia allocchio nostro al qual piace la perfectione del circulo et uedesì chella natura non cerca quasi altra forma Ma non e necessario parlar dellarchitectura romana per farne paragone con la Barbara, perche la differentia e notissima, ne anchor per descriuer lordine suo essendone gia tanto eccellentemente scripto per Victruui Basti adun qua sapere che li edificii di roma insino al tempo deglulimi Imperatori fono sempre edificati con bona a ragione di architectura E pero concordauano con li piu antiqui, onde difficulta alcuna non é di discernergli da quelli che fuorono al tempo delli gotti et anchora molti anni da poi, perche fuorono questi quasi dui extremi direttamente oppositi, ne anchor dalli nostri moderni, se non per altro almeno per la nouita che li fa notissimi

Hauendo dunque abastanza dechiarato quali edificii antiq[ui] di Roma son quelli che noi uogliamo dimostrare (3) et anchora come facil cosa sia cognoscere quelli dalli altri, resta ad insegnare el modo che noi hauemo tenuto in misurarli et disegnarli acioche (*fol 6r*) chi uorrà atendere alla Architectura, sappia operar luno e laltro senza errore (4) E cognosca noi nella descriptione di questa opera nonesserci governati a Caso, e per sola pratica, ma con uera ragione. E per non haner io in sino a mo ueduto scritto, ne inteso che sia apresso alcuno anticho el modo del misurare con la bussola della calamita, el quale modo noi usiamo estimo che sia inuentione di moderni Pero parmi bene insegnar con diligentia l'operarla a chi non la sapesse (5), Farassi adunque uno instrumento tondo et piano come uno Astrolabio, el diametro del quale serra dui palmi o piu o meno come piace a chi lo uole operare E la circonferentia di questo instrumento partiremo in otto parti giuste et a ciascuna di quelle parti poremo el nome dun degliotto uenti, diuidendoli in trenta due altre parti piccole, che si chiamarano gradi, cosi dal primo grado di tramontana tiraremo una linea dritta per mezzo el centro dello instrumento fino alla circumferentia e questa linea allopposito del primo grado di tramontana fara el primo di ostro Medesimamente tiraremo pur dalla circumferentia unaltra linea la qual passando per el centro intersechara (*fol 7r*) la linea di ostro e di tramontana E fatta intorno al centro quatro angoli retti et in infimo (?) lato della circumferentia signara el primo grado di leuante e nellaltro el primo di ponente Così tra queste linee che fanno li sopradetti quatro uenti principali restara el spatio delli altri quatro uenti collaterali che sono Greco Lybeccio maestro et Syrocho E questi si descriuerano con li medesimi gradi e modi che si e detto delli altri facto cosi nel punto del centro doue si intersecano le linee, conficaremo un umbelico di ferro, come un chiodetto dirittissimo et acuto é sopra questo si metta la calamita in bilancia come si usa di fare relli orologi dal sole che tutto di ueggiamo Di poi chiuderemo questo luoco della calamita con un uetro ouero con un corno subtilissimo e trasparente ma in modo che non tochi per non impedire el moto di quella acioche non sia sforzata dal uento Dipoi per mezzo del instrumento come Diametro et manaremo un indice el qual serra sempre dimostratiuo non solamente delli oppositi uenti ma anchora delli gradi come larmille nello astrolabio E questo si chiamara traguardo e serra ad uno o di modo che si (*fol 7r*) poterra uolgere intorno stante fermo el resto delo instrumento Con questo adunque misureremo ogni sorte di edificio di che forma si sia o tondo o quadro o con strani angoli e suolgiamenti quanto si uegua Et il modo e tale che nel luoco che si uole misurare si ponga lo instrumento ben piano accioche la calamita uadi al suo diritto E se accosti a quella parete (6) che si uol misurare quanto e

(1) The Maffei text inserts here after Vitruvius IV.5-6 *emissurate con la proporzione dell' uento e della donna' after which the end is crossed out.*

(2) The Maffei text here as in the following gives origine

comporta la circumferentia dello instrumento, E questo si uadi uolgendo tanto chella calamita sti giusta uerso el uento signato per tramontana, E come e ben fermata a questo uerso se indrizzi el traguardo con una regola di Legno o di ottone giusto a filo di quello parete o strata o altra cosa che si uogha misurare lassando lo instrumento fermo acioche la calamita serui el suo dritto uerso tramontana di poi guardisi a qual uento et a quanti gradi uolta per dritta linia quella parete, La quale misurerassi con la pertica (1) o cubito o palmo, fino a quel termine chel traguardo porta per dritta linia e questo numero si noti cioe tante cubiti a tanti gradi di ostro o syrocho o qual si sia, Dippoi chel traguardo (*fol 8<sup>r</sup>*) non serue piu per dritta linea denesi alhor suolgerlo cominciando l'altra linea che si ha a misurare doue termina la misurata et cosi indrizandolo a quella medesimamente notar li gradi del uento e 'l numer delle misure, fintanto che si circuisca tutto lo edificio, E questo pensiamo che basti quanto al misurare, ben che bisogna intendere le altezze, le quali facilmente si misurano col quadrante, Et li edifici tondi el centro delli quali si ritroua da ogni minima parte del suo circolo come insegna Euclide nel terzo (2) —

Hauendo misurato di quel modo che si é dicto et notate le misure e prospecti, cioe tante cane o palmi a tanti gradi di tal uento, Per disegnar poi bene el tutto É oportuno (3) hauer una carta della forma et misura propria della bussula della calamita et partita apunto di quel' medesimo modo con li medesimi gradi delli uenti, della qual si puo lhuom seruire come io dimostraro Piglisi adunque la carta sopra la qual si uol' disegnar lo edificio, misurato E primamente si tiri sopra essa una linea la quale serua quasi per una maestra al dritto di tramontana, poi se gli sopra-ponga la carta doue é disegnata lo exemplar della bussula con la qual si misura Et indrizzisi di modo che la linea, di tramontana nel exem- (*fol 8<sup>v</sup>*) plare disegnata se congionga con la linea che e tirata nella carta ove si uol disegnar lo edificio, di poi guardisi nella cosa misurata el numero delli piedi notatoui misurando, e li gradi di quel uento uerso el qual' é indrizato el muro o la uia che si uol disegnar E cosi trouisi el medesimo grado di quel uento nel' exemplar della bussula disegnata, tenendolo fermo con la linea di tramontana, sopra l'altra linea discripta nella carta e tirisi la linea di quel grado, dritta che passi per el centro dello exemplar disegnato e se descriua (4) nella carta doue si uol disegnar, di poi si riguardi quanti piedi fuorno riguardati pel dritto di quel grado e tanti sene segnino con la misura delli piccoli piedi su la linea di quel grado E se uerbì gratia si riguardi (5) in un muro piedi trenta a gradi sei di Leuante misurinsi piedi trenta e segninsi, et cosi di mano in mano di modo che con la pratica si farà una facilitate grandissima E sera questo quasi un disegno della pianta et un memorial per disegnar tutto el resto —

E per che el modo del disegnar che piu si appartiene allo architecto e differente da quel del pictore, (*fol 9<sup>r</sup>*) dirò qual mi pare conueniente, per intendere tutte le misure et saper trouare tutti li membri delli edefici senza errore, El disegno adonque delli edifici pertinente alarchitecto si diuide in tre parti, delle quali la prima sié la Pianta ouogham dire el disegno piano La seconda si é la parete di fnora con li suoi ornamentj La terza é la parete di drento, pur con li suoi ornamentj La pianta si é quella che conparte tutto el spatio piano del luoco da edificare, o uogham dir el disegno del fondamento, di tutto lo edificio, quando gia e rasente al pian' della terra, E'l qual spatio ben chel fosse in monte bisogna ridurlo in piano E far che la linea della basi del monte piana et posta in piano sia paralella a tutti li piani dello edificio, E per questo se deve pigliare la linea dritta della basi e no la curuita dell'altezza del monte (6) di modo che sora quella caggiano apiombo et aperpendicolo, tutti li muri dello edificio Et chiamasi queste disegno (come é ditto, pianta, quasi che cosi questa pianta occupi el spatio del fondamento di tutto lo edificio, come la pianta del piede occupa quel spatio che e fondamento di tutto el corpo), Disegnato che sia la pianta (*fol 9<sup>v</sup>*) e compartita con li suoi membri conle larghezze loro o in tondo o in quadro o in qual' altra forma se sia Deuesi tirare, (misurando sempre con la piccola misura el tutto) una linea della larghezza della basi di tutto lo edificio, E dal punto di mezzo di questa tirata un'altra linea dritta, la quale faccia da luncanto e da laltro dui angoli retti, in questa sia la linea del mezzo dello edificio dalle due extremitati della linia della larghezza tirinsi due linie paralelle perpendiculari

(1) here super-scribed 'canna'

(2) The Maffei text is here so abbreviated that it almost cannot be understood '— benchè bisogna intendere le altezze, e i tondi, li quali si misurano in altra maniera, come poi si mostrerà a luogo più accomodato' (3) on rasure

(4) 'e se descriua', underlined and corrected to, 'e descriuasi' (5) 'traguardi', underlined and corrected to 'traguardo'

(6) By a sign, del monte is placed after, della basi, this correction is adhered to in the Maffei text

sopra la linea della basi E queste due linee siano alte quanto ha da essere lo edificio che in tal modo faranno l'altezza dello edificio Di poi tra queste due linee estreme che fanno l'altezza si pigli la misura delle colonne delli pilastri delle finestre e de gli altri ornamenti Dissegnati nella metà dinante della pianta dello edificio e faciasi el tutto sempre tirando da ciascun punto delle extremitate delle colonne pilastri uani o cioche si siano linee paralelle da quelle due estreme E di poi per el trauerso si ponga l'altezza delle baze delle colonne delli capitelli delli Architravi delle finestre fregi cornice et tal cose, E questo tutto si faccia con linee paralelle della linea del piano dello edi- (fol 10<sup>o</sup>) ficio, E in tali disegni non si diminuiscan nella extremitate anchora che lo edificio fosse tondo ne anchora se fosse quadro, per farli mostrare due faccie Per che lo architecto dalla linea diminuita non puo pigliare alcuna giusta misura, Et che e necessario a tal' artificio, che ricerca tutte le misure perfette in facto et tirate con linee paralelle, non con quelle che paiono e non sono, E se le misure fatte tallhor sopra pianta di fornina tonda scortano ouer diminuiscono subito si trouano nel disegno della pianta, E quelle che scortano nella pianta (come uolte archi triangoli) sono poi perfette nelli suoi dritti disegni E per questo e sempre bisogno hauer pronte et apparecchiate le misure giuste di palmi, piedi, diti et grani fino alle sue parte minime La terza parte di questo disegno si é quella che hauemo dicto e chiamata parete di dentro con li suoi ornamenti E questa e necessaria non meno che laltre due et é fatta medesimamente dalla pianta con le linee paralelle (come la parete di fora) E dimostra la mita dello edificio di dentro come se fosse diuiso per mezzo, dimostra el cortile la correspon- (fol 10<sup>o</sup>) dentia dell'altezza delle cornice di fora con le cose di dentro, l'altezza delle finestre delle porte delli archi e delle uolte, o a bocle o cruciera o che altra foggia si siano, in somma con questi tre ordini ouer modi si possono considerare minutamente tutte le parti d'ogni edificio dentro e di fora, E questa uia hauemo seguitato e tenuta noi, come si uederá nel progresso di tutta questa nostra opera Et acioche piu chiaramente anchora se intenda hauemo posto qui di sotto in disegno un solo edificio, disegnato in tutti tre questi modi (1)

(1) The Maffei text ends here with a longish address to the Pope and with the remark 'Manca il Disegno, e la Descrizione di Roma antica'

## CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS AND OTHER SOURCES FOR THE BIOGRAPHY

### I

- October 1491 The death of Raphael's mother, income and expense book for S Francesco at Urbino fol 34<sup>r</sup> (1)  
 (1) *Passavant, I, 364 after Pungileoni*  
 '1491 A di 7 ottobre intrò 14½ lib de cera per la morte de la donna Giovan de Sancte'  
 'A di 10 dicto per l'nffittio della donna de Giovan de Sancte'

### II

- May 1492 The marriage of Raphael's father with Bernardina Parte ib (2)  
 (2) *ib p 360*  
 '1492 Maji 25 In ecclesia Sanctae Agathae — — — D Bernardina fil Petri Partis de Urbino — — pro tribunali cum presentia et consensu magistri Ioannis Sanctis Peruzzoli civ Urb mariti dicti D Berardinae praesentis, asserens se habere notitiam omnium bonorum ejus parentum — —'

### III

- July 1494 Giovanni Santi's will and death (3)  
 (3) *ib p 361*  
 '1494 27 Juli — — Item iussit voluit — — dictam — — Do Bernardinam ejus uxorem dominam massariam et usufructuariam in domo ipsius testatoris donec vitam vidualem honestam et castam servaverit et in dicta ejus domo permanserit cum infrascriptis ejus haeredibus — — Item jussit Don Sanctam ejus sororem et uxorem q(uondam) m(agis)tri Bartolomei Sartoris de Urbino — — posse stare et habitare in domo dicti testatoris et in ea habere victum — — In omnibus autem suis bonis — — suos haeredes universales instituit Dom Bartolomeum ejus fratrem, Raphaellem ejus filium legitimum et naturalem ex Do Magia altera 9<sup>m</sup> ejus uxore et ventrem ipsius Do Bernardinae si unum vel plures filios masculos pepererit aequis portionibus et pleno jure, et si filiam foeminam — — 150 florenos — — Tutorem autem et curatorem dic. fil tam nat. quam nascit instituit et esse voluit Donn Bartolomaeum ejus fratrem praed — —'  
 Income and expense book for S Francesco at Urbino, fol 50<sup>r</sup>  
 '1494 A di ditto I d'agnsto per la morte di Giovan de Sante intrò lib 14 e 8 de cera'

### IV

- May—June 1500 The termination of Bernardina Parte's lawsuit against Dom Bartolomeo and Raphael Notarial papers at Urbino (4)  
 (4) *Pungileoni and Passavanti, l c., revised Grimm, Jahrb d Pr Kunstsamml III, 1882, p 161*  
 '— Et mihi notario publico — — pro dicto Raffaele absente, summa etc — —'

### V

- December 1500 Contract between Andrea Baroncio of the one part and Raffaello da Urbino and Evangelista da Piaudimileto of the other for an altar-piece for S Agostino in Citta di Castello, Doc. in Archivio notarile in this town (5)  
 (5) *G Magherini-Graziani, Bollettino della Società Umbra per Storia Patria XIV, 1908, p 88*  
 (1500) 'Die X de decembris — — vir spectabilis Andreas Tome Barouci de dicta civitate et magister Rafael Iohannis Sanctis de Urbino et Vangelista Andrea de Plauo Meleto (6) pictores — — pepigerunt quod dicti magistri Rafael et Evangelista deberent eorum sumptibus facere unam tabulam altaris capelle dicti Andree site in ecclesia sancti Augustini cum illis figuris quibus dicet idem Andreas, de bonis picturis et coloribus, ad usum boni pictoris et magistri — — ducatos triginta tres auri largos solvendos per ipsum Andream in tribus pagis seu vicibus, videlicet tertiam partem in principio dicte tabule ut possint dicti magistri se providere de coloribus, et aliam tertiam partem in medio operis ut possint vivere et aliam tertiam pagam in fine operis et confecta dicta tabula ut dictum est — —'  
 (6) *Bibliography, Gronau Kunstchronik 1908 —09, column 147*  
 (7) *Magherini-Graziani p 89*  
 1501 On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September, the artists give a receipt for the last third and last instalment of the sum (7)



## VI

December 1505 Contract between the nuns of the Monteluca cloister, near Perugia, and Raphael, for an altar-piece after the type of Ghirlandajo's 'Coronation of the Madonna' in S. Girolamo at Narni. Mentioned in the 'Liber reformationis vel memorialis' of the cloister fol. 46 (1)

(1) *Pungileoni, Elogio storico di Raffaello, p. 192*

'Nel tempo de lo offitio della sopradetta Abatessa (Suor Chiara de Messer Francesco de' Mansueti de Procia) fu ordinato se dovesse fare una tavola o vero cona grande per lo Altara Maggiore de la Chiesa de fuora come molte volte era stato ragionato dipinta cum l'Assumptione della Verg. Ma(donna) come se conviene in essa Chiesa et perchè questo era el terzo anno et circa al fine del suo offitio non fu tempo da poterne fare allora. Ma fece trovare el Maestro el migliore si fosse consigliato da piu cittadini et anco dalli nostri venerandi Padri li quali havevano vedute le opere suoi lo quali si chiama Maestro Raffaello da Urbino, et con esso fu facto el pacto — — et dal nostro Factore Ser Bernardino da Chanaglia li furono dati in mano per arrata trenta ducati de oro como Maestro Raffaello adomandò — — A dè 29 del mese de decembre 1505'

The contract itself has been found by Umberto Gnoli in the Archivio notarile at Perugia (2)

(2) *Bollettino d'Arte XI, 1917, p. 146, here communicated in extenso*

12<sup>th</sup> of December 1505 — — Magister Rafael Iohannis sanctus de Urbino et Robertus Iohannis marci de perusio porte solis pictores — — promiserunt — — facere construere et depingere una tavola sive cona existente in nargne nel la chiesa de San Girolamo del luoco minore et omne de colore et figure numero — — et le ditte figure promette fare dicto mastro Raffaello in dicta Cona de mano sua propria per tempo et termine de doi anni proximi — —' (Some persons are appointed to see that the picture becomes as good as the picture in Narni) The contract applies wherever the artists should be living 'perusi assisi eugubii rome senis florentie urbini venetijs et alibi ubique — —'

## VII

1507 Raphael (?) paints a miniature-like picture for the Duchess of Urbino as a present for a Camaldoli monk

Letter from Pietro Bembo to Don Michele Fiorentino at Camaldoli (3)

(3) *Opere di Bembo, Venetia 1729, 111, 79— cf. Vasari IV, 323*

Urbino, 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1507 '— — ritornato che io fui ad Urbino, e renduta a Mad. Duchessa la corona de' vostri paternostri, ella diliberò di mandarvi alla incontro alcuna cosa delle sue, che in memoria di lei con voi dimorasse. Perchè non si trovando ella in quel punto dono alcuno, che le paresse degno della vostra bontà, ordinò una immagine, che per mano d'un gran maestro della pittura a vostro nome con ogni celerità possibile si facesse — — Avvenne poi, che per essere il dipignere di quella maniera malagevole da farsi nelle fredde stagioni, e questa vernata suta acerbissima, molti mesi passarono, che oltra un poco incominciamento non vi si potè por mano, in modo che tra per questa cagione, e per la qualità del lavoro, che è sottile e minuto molto, fin questi dì la immagine ha penato a fornirsi, nè io in questo tempo v'ho mai scritto — —'

## VIII

October 1507 Raphael signs, at Urbino, a contract for the purchase of a house, for which he engages to pay 37 guilders to the Ducal Majordomus Francesco Buffa, the same who is mentioned in the letter to his uncle (1514), doc. at Urbino (4)

(4) *Alippi in Il Raffaello 1880, Müntz, Les historiens p. 29*

'Raphael quondam Ioannis Sanctus pictor urbinas — — promisit et convenit dare — — Francisco Buffae magistro domus Ill<sup>mi</sup> Domini nostri Ducis Urbini — — florenos triginta septem etc — — Dictus Raphael — — solemniter iuravit ad Sancta Dei Evangelia manu corporaliter tactis scripturis vera fuisse etc'

## IX

1510 Drawings for objects in silver and bronze

The Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino possessed some silver bowls designed by Raphael, probably they were a present from Julius II to the Duke's nephew on his visit to Rome as newly married, Carnival 1510. After his expulsion



from Urbino in 1516, Duchess Elisabetta and Duchess Eleonora tried to sell them to their relation Isabella d'Este

(1) *Raffaello*  
20—30, IV,  
1876

Letter from Benedetto Caviluppi to Isabella d'Este (1)

7<sup>th</sup> of July 1516 'le S<sup>re</sup> Duchesse me dissero l'altro giorno che erano necessitate fare rompere et battere alcuni pezzi di argenti fra quali erano dui bacilli con dui bronzi da mano molto belli de disegno et fogia antiqua designati per Raphael hanno del oblongo sono dorati et credo piaceriano alla Ex V dicendomi che quando V E avesse modo de dargli dinari o tanti argenti da rompere che volentieri li gli dariano più presto, che butare via tanto bella opera

November 1510 Drawing for two bronze dishes for Agostino Chigi These were executed by Cesarino from Perugia, probably the same mentioned in

(2) *Foa, Notizie*,  
p 81

Raphael's note to Domenico Alfani (2)

10<sup>th</sup> of November 1510 'Magister Cesarinus Francisci de Perusio Aurifex in Urbe, in regione Pontis, confessus fuit habuisse a Domino Augustino Chisio mercatore Senensi per manus Domini Angeli Guiducci ducatos veginquique auri de Camera pro compositione, et manufactura duorum tondorum de bronsio magnitudinis quatuor palmorum, vel circa, cum pluribus floribus de mero relevo, secundum ordinem, et formam eidem dandam per Magistrum Raphaellem Ioannis Santi de Urbino Pictorem quos finire promisit infra sex menses proxime venturos, sine exceptione etc'

## X

July—August 1511 Raphael paints Julius II on a fresco in one of the Stanze

(3) *Luzio in*  
*Archivio della*  
*R. Società Ro-*  
*mana di Storia*  
*Patria IX,*  
*1886, p 525*

Letter from Stazio Gadio to Isabella d'Este Archivio Gonzaga, Mantova (3)

16<sup>th</sup> of August '— — sua S<sup>ta</sup> ha detto che vol che Raffaello retraga il S<sup>r</sup> Federico in una camera che fa dipinzer in palazzo dove è anchora sua S<sup>ta</sup> dal natural con la barba'

As Vasari relates that Raphael used Federico Gonzaga as model for one of the young men around Archimedes in 'The school of Athens', it has been regarded as certain, that it was to this the letter of Gadio referred, and that the said portrait of the Pope was identical with the portrait in 'The delivery of the decretals' (4) But the latter is miserable as a portrait and cannot be compared with the magnificent and authentic portrait of the Pope in 'The mass of Bolsena' This other fresco on account of the style must be attributed to Penni

(4) *Steinmann,*  
*Die Sixtinische*  
*Kapelle II 120*

It would thus seem, that the letter contained a certain proof that the frescos in Stanza d'Elodoro were begun directly after the home coming of the Pope, 27<sup>th</sup> of June 1511

## XI

November 1511 Raphael gives surety for Baldassare Peruzzi and his brother Pietro on their taking possession of two rented houses as workshop (5)

(5) *Vinghelli,*  
*Raffaello*  
p 111, n 1

2 Half-year 1511 Raphael recovers a debt with the help of Domenico Alfani from the painter Bernardino Lorenzo at Perugia Archivio del Cambio, Perugia (6)

(6) *W. Bombe,*  
*Beiheft z Bd*  
*XXXII d*  
*Jahrb Pr k*  
*1906 p 6*

## XII

July 1512 The visit of Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara to Michelangelo in the Sixtine chapel, mention of the Stanze of Raphael Letter from Grossino to Isabelle d'Este, undated, Archivio Gonzaga, Mantova (7)

(7) *Iuzio p 511*

'— — — Sua Ex desiderava assai di veder la volta di la capella granda che dipingie Michelangelo et il S Fed<sup>o</sup> per il mezo del Mondovì lo fece che lo mandò a dimandar per parte del Papa, et il S<sup>r</sup> Ducha andò in su la volta con piu persone, tandem ogni uno a pocho a pocho se ne vene giù de la volta et il S<sup>r</sup> Ducha restò su con Michel Angello et non si poteva satiar di guardar quelle figure, et assai careze li feze di sorte che Sua Ex desiderava el gie facesse uno quadro et li fece parlar e proferir dinari et li ha in promesso de fargiello Il S Fed<sup>o</sup> vedendo che sua Ex stava tanto a la volta menò li soi gentilhomini a veder le camere del Papa et quelle che dipingie Raffaello da Urbino dopo ch 'l S Ducha fu venuto a basso lo volsero menar a veder la camera del Papa et quelle che dipingie Raffaello ma non li volse andare et quelli soi gentilhomini dissero che l'avea auto grandissimo respecto andar in la camera dove dormiva il Papa'

## XIII

1512 The church of S Sisto at Piacenza is finished after 12 years rebuilding, the documents are mentioned by Poggiali (1)

'certe Memorie manoscritte per me vedute, le quali pongono esse cominciamento al presente Anno 1500 con aggiugnere, che nello spazio di dodici Anni fu ridotta a buon termine quella gran fabrica'

(1) *Memorie storiche di Piacenza*, Piacenza 1760 VIII, 164

1512 Piacenza surrenders itself to Julius II, and the envoys from the town are received by the Pope at Rome

(This occurrence is referred by Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*<sup>2</sup> III, 674, to the month of October, but this is a mistake due to Gregorovius, *Gesch d Stadt Rom* VIII<sup>3</sup> 102, and before him again to Carpesanus 'commentaria suorum temporum', Martène et Durand, *Scriptores* V, 1288)

26<sup>th</sup> of July 1512, four ambassadors are received in the consistory to take the oath, Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, cod Vatic, t III, p 898 (2)

(2) Rainaldi, *Annales* XI, 630, see also Döllinger *Beiträge* III, 423

'Die lunae XXVI iulii, qua fuit dies celebritas S Annae matris gloriosae virginis Mariae, oratores Placentini sive nuntii quatuor admissi fuerunt ad consistorium praestaturi obedientiam et fidelitatis iuramentum sanctissimo domino nostro Iulio'

The Venetian ambassador mentions the arrival of the ambassadors (3)

(3) Sanuto, *Diarii* XIX, 524

'— et dil zonzer (giugnere) oratori piacentini di li, per che il Papa vol quella terra per lui, e cussi Parma per non esser di la chiezia'

In addition to the Piacenza chronicle of Guarino (4) it runs

(4) Poggiali *l c* p 216 See also Sanuto, *Diarii* XIV, 555

'Supradictus Sanctissimus Papa Iulius, o quam laetam et magnam recolentiam fecit praedictis oratoribus Placentiae! Misit ad praesentandum eos, videlicet mulum unum cum una botta Malvasiae circa brentae duo, et Muli octo cum barili sexdecim vini Corsi, et bottae pro reponendo eum etc — Deinde voluit, quod irent ad prandium cum sua Santitate Fuit primo Augusti, Dominica, et fecit Militem superscriptum D Bartolomaeum Barotrium (Barattieri), qui fuit ille, qui fecit Orationem suae Sanctitati'

Antonfrancesco Villa, *Chronicon* (5) the Pope says to Barattieri, 'se Dio li concedeva alquanto longa vita, faria cossa a la Città nostra, che mai i Placentini se domenteriano Papa Iulio Secundo'

(5) Poggiali, *l c*, p 217

The clergy was also represented, Poggiali (6) cites the beginning of a Papal letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> of August 1512 to 'Dilectis Filis Universo Clero dilectissimae Civitatis nostrae Placentiae'

(6) *l c* p 217

'Litteras vestras datas Placentiae die 6 proxime praeteriti mensis Iulii, quas — oratores nobis reddiderunt, pergratas habuimus, eosque perbenigne accepimus etc.'

## XIV

February 1513 Raphael begins the portrait of Federico Gonzaga, but gives it up

Letter from Isabella d'Este to Matteo Ippoliti (7)

(7) Luzio in *Archivio della R Societa Romana di Storia Patria* IX 1886, p 548

24<sup>th</sup> of May 1512 'Perchè vi è stato forza donare via il retratto de Federico nostro figliolo che fu facto a Bologna desideramo haverne un altro — Volemo che tu vedi se in Roma si ritrova Raphaele di Zoanne de Sancto da Urbino pictore et lo preghi a volerlo ritrare dal pecto insuso armato — — —'

Letter from Grossino to Isabella d'Este (8)

(8) Campori in *Atti e Memorie della R Deputazione di Storia Patria Modena* V 1870

11<sup>th</sup> of February 1513 '— heri per farsi retrare da M<sup>ro</sup> Raphael da Urbino pictor di N S si armò col saglio di V Ex, col capello in testa et penacchio dentro sopra uno scuffiotto d'oro et a questa fogia lo pinse di carbone per farlo poi così armato

15<sup>th</sup> of February 1513 '— Del retratto del S Federico tengo solecitato m Raffello de continovo me dice che gia lavora dricto et che non mi dubita chel desidera assai di fare detto retratto a V S servirlo bene'

19<sup>th</sup> of February 1513 '— M Raphaello da Urbino me ha restituito il saion e altre robe del S Federico per ritrarlo e haver dice che la S V li perdona per adesso non saria possibile chel gie avesse il cervello a retrarlo'

(9) Frey *Zur Beschreibung des S. Petrus Beichtzimmers* XVI Bd der *Jahrb d K Preuss Historischer Anstalt* 1881 F 23

## XV

1513 From the accounts of the Vatican Various expenses in the name of Raphael Codex I (Frey) in *Archivio della Reverendissima Fabbrica di San Pietro* libro de Ricordi 1513 fol 25<sup>r</sup> (9)

'A maestro Antonio da Santo Galo duc 50 doro, dattj sopra a la soffitta del te-  
sauriero duc 65'

'A maestro Rafaello duc 4 doro, dattj sopra a certe porticele duc 5 bol 65'  
(here follow similar items of smaller building works)

Fol 25<sup>v</sup> (Lost frescos in the connecting building between the Vatican and the Belvedere)

'Per 4 quadrij, fattj nel choridore che va a Belvedere, a tempo di papa Leone, duc cinque cento, a ragione [di] duc 125 luno che tantj tocha per quadro, avendo avere per quadrij 16 duc 2000, de qualj ne (1) fattj dettj 4 quadrij Dice (2), che si mercatorno tuttj a tempo di papa Iulio [per] duc 3400 duc 650'

Müntz (*Les historiens*, p 133) adds after duc 3400 che erano quadri 17, in his 'Raphaël'<sup>2</sup>, p 382 he writes 'l'artiste en peignit une sous Jules II, au prix de 200 ducats, et quatre autres sous Léon X, au prix de 150 (1) ducats seulement chacune'

## XVI

1<sup>st</sup> of March 1514 Raphael and Evangelista da Pian di Mileto are admitted to the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi at Urbino Doc. in the archives of the brotherhood (3)

'Rafaello de G<sup>o</sup> de Santi depentore'

W Bombe says that the date is doubtful (4)

(3) *Pungileoni*,  
*Elogio storico*  
*di Raffaello*,  
p 147

(4) *Monatshefte*  
*für Kunstwis-*  
*senschaft* IV,  
1911

## XVII

August 1514 The payment of the remainder of the sum for the pictures in the Stanze, noted down in a copy of the accounts for the church of St. Peter, after Frey 'Codex III', 17<sup>th</sup> century in Bibliotheca Chisiana (5)

'A di I Agosto 1514 — a messer Raffaele da Urbino ducati cento per resto della pittura de la camera noue di Nostro Signore'

(5) *Fey*, *Notizie*  
*intorno Raf-*  
*faello Sanzio*  
*etc.* 1822, p 9  
*revised by Frey*,  
*Zur Bauge-*  
*schichte* p 52

## XVIII

August 1514 Raphael's appointment as architect of the church of St Peter A copy in the Ambrosiana library at Milano, collated by Pastor (6) in which form the text is here communicated, printed in a somewhat reconstructed form in Pietro Bembo's 'Epistolae Leonis X nomine scriptae', Lyon 1538, p 192

(6) *Geschichte*  
*der Päpste* IV,  
I, 544 n 3

'Raphaello Urbinati

Cum praeter picturae artem, qua in arte te excellere omnes homines intelligunt, is a Bramante architecto etiam in construendis aedificiis (Bembo aedibus) es habitus, ut tibi ille recte Principis Apostolorum templi Romani, a se inchoati aedificationem committi posse moriens existimavit, idque tu nobis exemplo (Bembo forma) eius templi confecto, quod desiderabatur, totiusque operis ratione tradita docte atque abunde probaveris Nos quibus nihil est fere (Bembo prope) antiquius ut templum (Bembo phanum) id, quam magnificentissime quamque celerrime construatur, te magistrum eius operis constitumus (Bembo facimus) cum salario (Bembo stipendium) ducator tercentorum auri camerae nostrae (Bembo numum aureor trecentor) tibi annis singulis persolvendorum (Bembo curandorum) a nostris pecuniarum quae ad ipsius templi (Bembo phani) aedificationem erogantur ad nosque perferuntur Magistris a quibus id salarium (Bembo stipendium) aequis pro tempore portionibus dari tibi cum petieris sine mora etiam mensibus singulis mandamus (Bembo iubeo) Hortamur autem te in Domino ut (Bembo Te vero hortor ut) huius muneris curam ita suscipias ut in eo exercendo cum existimationis tuae ac nominis, quibus (Bembo quoniam) quidem in iuveni tur aetate (Bembo iuveni aetate) fundamenta iacere te oportet, tum spei de te nostrae paternaeque caritatis (Bembo paternaeque in te benevolentia), demum etiam templi (Bembo phani) quod in toto orbe terrarum longe omnium maximum atque sanctissimum semper fuit, dignitatis et celebritatis, et in ipsum Principem Apostolorum debitae a nobis pietatis et reverentiae (Bembo omittit et rev) rationem habuisse videre.

Dat Die p<sup>a</sup> Aug<sup>u</sup> (Bembo Cal. Aug) Anno secundo Roma'

From the almost similar letter of appointment to Fra Giocondo may be mentioned also after Pastor (7) the lines which relate to his model for the church of St Peter and his title

(7) *I c p 331*  
*n 2*

'(cum) totiusque templi exemplo recognoscendo tuum ipse nobis ingenium et virtutem exaedificandique peritiam abunde probaveris nos — — te magistrum eius operis constituimus cum salario ducatorum quadringentorum auri camerae nostrae — —'

Giuliano da Sagalla was appointed 'operis administer et coadiutor' at a salary of 300 Papal gold ducats (1)

(1) *Pastor l c p 545 n I*

Fra Giocondo was appointed from the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1513, Giuliano da Sangallo from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1514, Raphael was appointed ad interim from the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1514 which may be seen from the accounts (2)

(2) *Frey, l c p 61*

'A maestro Raffaello da Urbino per sua provisione d'anni 5 cominciati a di primo d'Aprile, a duc 300 l'anno duc 1500'

On the death of Fra Giocondo on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1515, Giuliano took his leave, and Raphael was then the only architect without coadiutor, until Giuliano's nephew Antonio da Sangallo the younger obtained his appointment on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1517 (3)

(3) *See Ricordo Frey, p 61*

— It is incorrect when one generally refers this to November—December 1516, from a letter from Leonardo Sellajo to Michelangelo (4), for Antonio became then only soprastante — Neither was it on account of any lack of confidence in Raphael's ability that he had a coadiutor, Antonio da Sangallo who succeeded Raphael after his death in April 1520 got Baldassare Peruzzi as his coadiutor from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August of that year

(4) *Frey, Ausgewählte Briefe an Michelagnolo p 51*

The models of Raphael and Fra Giocondo are mentioned in the accounts (5)

'Per 2 modellj, 1<sup>o</sup> di Fra Giocondo et di Raffaello duc. 300'

(5) *Frey, l c p 66*

The general opinion that Raphael had executed two models, or that his real model was not finished until later, originated from the false letter to Castiglione, and from the incorrect communication of Fea, that the art-joiner Barile was engaged from the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1514, whereas he was engaged on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1513 (6) The models were perhaps built by quite another, just as later when the model of Antonio da Sangallo (1521) was executed by Maestro Baldassare (7)

(6) *Frey, l c p 61*

The most important works in Raphael's time are given in the following accounts by Giuliano Leno, 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1521, though among these are some, which were begun by Bramante in the last years of his life (Altar-house over St Peter's tomb = *figurio*) (8)

(7) *Frey, l c p 68*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 'Per lo <i>figurio</i> sopra l'altare di Santo Petro                  | duc 2500  |
| Per sei pilastri colle teste per le navi                              | duc 11000 |
| Per li conci le cornici sopra e pilastri                              | duc 2000  |
| Per due modellj, 1 <sup>o</sup> di Fra Giocondo et (uno) di Raffaello | duc. 300  |
| Per disarmare 4 archi   | duc 1200  |
| Per disarmare la tribuna  | duc 600   |

(8) *Frey, l c p 66 Dagobert Frey, Bramantestudien I, p 57 et seq*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Per le capelle ripiene et per la meta della capella del re di Francia (9) rifatta | duc 800   |
| Per le mura della capella del re Francia et conci et pilastri et capitelli        | duc 14000 |

(9) *southern transept*

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Per li legnami della Tribuna che dicie essere sita | duc 2500' |
|--|-----------|

This applies to the completion of Bramante's choir (la tribuna) and of the four arches over the principal pillars, also of the erection of 6 pilasters with capitals on counterpillars(?) and their cornices, further to the work in the southern transept with its chapels (niches) in the galleries This last part was excluded in Michelangelo's plan, and does not exist any longer

## XIX

November 1515 Agostino Gonzaga treats with Raphael to paint a small picture for Isabella d'Este, letter from Agostino Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, Archivio Gonzaga at Mantova (10)

(10) *Campori l c V, 1870 p 304*

7<sup>th</sup> of June 1515 '— — Io parlai cum Raphaël da Urbino circa il quadretto che voria la Ex<sup>ta</sup> Vostra di man sua, così lo disposi ad volerlo fare et farallo — — Piacevalli adunque mandar il disegno et drciarlo a mi ch'io lo faro fare et presto che scio sera satisfatta, secundo il desiderio suo — —'

8<sup>th</sup> of November 1515 '— — Quando io mi parti de Mantua, comandome V Ex ch'io procurassi che Raffaello gli facesse un quadro de pittura Così giunto ad Urbino

subito gli scrissi et desso mi rispose affermando volerlo fare Occorrendomi dipoi andare a Roma, sollicitai con molto maior instantia de sorte che me promise lassare indietro tutte l'altre opere cominciate e da cominciare, per satisfare a V S Ill<sup>ma</sup> Hora per confirmatione di questo pur mi scrive che io le mandì la misura del quadro e il lume, pechè presto pensa dargli principio — — (di Urbino)'

The desired measurements and information follow in a letter from Isabella to Count Castiglione (1)

(1) Luzio l c  
p 572

## XX

(2) Frey, p 27  
and 29

June 1515 Payment for the cartoons of the tapestries (2)

(3) Bibiena, as  
prefetto della  
Fabrica di  
S Pietro

'— — a dì 15 June 1515 deue dare duc trecento di camera, pagati per ordine di Monsignore Reuerendissimo (3) a Raphaele da Urbino per parte di pagamento delli cartoni o disegni, si mandano in Fiandra per li panì razzi (4), si fanno per la capella, appare quitanza duc 300'

(4) = arazzi

This Ricordo, which can only be found in Codex Chisianus from the 17<sup>th</sup> century is not literal, but certainly correct in reality In the second of the contemporary codices an order of payment for December of the following year is to be found (fol 12<sup>r</sup>)

'a dì 20 deto (Dicembre 1516) duc 134 a maestro Raffaello da Urbino pe cartoni duc 134'

(fol 14<sup>v</sup>) 'Maestro Raffaello da Urbino da auere a dì 20 di Dicembre 1516 duc 134 doro — — auti da Santa Maria in Portico pe cartoni, postj Monsignore auere in questo 12 duc 134'

This latter denoted that Bibiena had advanced 12 ducats

From this it cannot be seen when the work was begun or when it was finished, nor how much the payment amounted to Marc Antonio Michiel, whose communications must be accepted with some caution, says in his diary (5), that Raphael in all received 1000 ducats

(5) Published  
by Cicogna in  
Memorie dell'I  
R Istiuto ve-  
nelo di scienze,  
lettere ed arti  
IX, 1860, p 405

(6) Documenti  
from 1532 in  
Müntz, Les his-  
toriens et les  
critiques de Ra-  
phael, p 139  
and following

(7) Müntz, His-  
toire de la ta-  
pissérie en Ita-  
lie, p 87

(8) Cicogna,  
l c.

(9) Minghelli,  
Raffaello,  
p 161 n 1

(10) Geschichte  
der Papsie IV,  
2 appendix

Pieter van Aelst at Brussels wove the tapestries (6) and all the expenses according to Michiel amounted to 15000 ducats (7) From the same source, it is stated, that the 7 tapestries were finished and hung up in Capella Sistina in December 1517 (8) And Paris de Grassis (9) said that 'the new tapestries' were hung up in the Chapel on St Stephan's day 1519, manuscript in the Bibliotheca communale at Bologna In die Sancti Stephani iussit Papa appendi suos pannos de Russia novos, pulcherimos, pretiosos, de quibus tota capella stupefacta est in aspectu illorum, qui, ut fuit universale indicium sunt res quae non est aliquid in orbe nunc pulchrius

## XXI

27<sup>th</sup> of August 1515 Raphael's nomination as Papal superintendent for procuring marble blocks for the church of St Peter, especially to take care of antique inscriptions, written by Bembo A copy in the Ambrosiana library at Milano, collated by Pastor (10), our text originates therefrom Printed in a reconstructed form in Pietro Bembo's 'Epistolae Leonis X nomine scriptae', 1538

'Raphaello Urbinati

Cum ad Romanum Principis Apostolorum templum exaedificandum, cui plane operi omnem curam diligentiamque nostram adhibemus, maxime intersit, ut lapidum marmorisque materia, qua abundare nos oportet, domi potius habeatur, quam peregre advehatur exploratum autem nobis sit magnam eius rei copiam Urbis ruinas suppeditare, effodique passim omnis generis saxa fere ab universis, qui Romae, quique etiam prope Romam aedificare aliquid vel omnino terram vertere parumper moluntur te, quo architecto eius templi operisque magistro utimur, cuiusque tum virtutem et probitatem, tum vero maxime in nos sedemque hanc apostolicam reverentiam et multum saepenumero et perspeximus et probavimus, marmorum et lapidum omnium omnisque generis qui Romae quique extra Romam denuum milium passuum spatio deinceps eruentur, praefectum constituimus, ea de causa ut quae ad eius templi aedificationem erunt oportuna, ea honesto precio nostro nomine emas Mandantes omnibus hominibus, mediocribus, summis, infimis qua deinceps marmora saxaque omnis generis intra eum [sic] quem diximus, loci spatium effodiunt, ut te earum rerum praefectum de singulis erutis effossisve

quamprimum certiores faciant, qui id triduo non fecerit, volumus, ut excommunicationis latae sententiae, a qua per neminem nisi per nos absolvi possit, et centum ducatorum auri, qui minima qui vero ad summum mille, caeterum nostro arbitrio imponenda poena inter haec extrema mulctetur, eumque mulctandum sine alio decreto nostro iam nunc decernimus et declaramus. Praeterea quoniam certiores etiam facti sumus, multum antiqui marmoris et saxi, litteris monumentisque incisi, quae quidem saepe monumenta notam aliquam egregiam prae se ferunt quaeque servari opere precium esset ad cultum litterarum Romanique sermonis elegantiam excolendam, a fabris marmorariis eo pro materia utentibus temere secari, ita, ut inscriptiones aboleantur, mandamus omnibus, qui caedendi marmoris artem Romae exercent, sub eisdem poenis, ut sine tuo iussu et concessione lapidem ullum inscriptum caedere secareve non audeant.

Datum Romae XXVII augusti 1515 Anno III'

In a dispute with the heirs of Gabriele de Rossi in 1518, Raphael refers to his Papal commission (1), but his view was not approved by the Pope

(1) *Doc XXXIV*

In a later document which is not preserved, he must likewise have been 'commissioned to draw the antique Rome' a fact which can be seen from his own memorial on the ruins of Rome

## XXII

November 1515 Raphael buys a house in Via Sistina in Borgo, he is mentioned as being 'absent' (2)

'Magister Perinus Senarius de Caravagio architectore sponte pro se et suis heredibus et successoribus vendidit domino Raphaeli de Urbino pictori licet absenti — — quandam ipsius Perini domum positam in Burgo Sancti Petri de Urbe in Via Sistina'

(2) *Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII, Milano 1881, p. 39*

Bavero de' Carocci da Parma pittore transacted the business for Raphael. Campori wanted to identify him as the 'pupil' il Baviera, mentioned by Vasari

## XXIII

January or February 1516 Raphael is ordered by Leo X to Florence to attend a conference respecting the facade of San Lorenzo. The communications on this point are questionable. Baccio Bandinelli in a letter to the Duke of Florence 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1547

'Mi ricordo, quando stava con Papa Leone, sua Santità in Firenze mandò per Raffaello da Urbino e pel Buonarroto, e concluse la facciata di San Lorenzo'

Letter from Buonarroto Buonarroti to Michelangelo (3)

25<sup>th</sup> of April 1517 '(Baccio d'Agnolo) più mi dise che maj penso da inpaciarsi con Raffaello da Urbino, e che gli era suo nimicho capitale'

(3) *Frey, Ausgewählte Briefe an Michelagnolo, p. 67*

Baccio d'Agnolo had made a model of the facade of San Lorenzo for Michelangelo who was not satisfied with it, he assures him now, through Michelangelo's brother, that he will not enter in partnership with Raphael. This would mean, that Raphael really was a competitor of Michelangelo. Besides this affair is not clear Bandinelli's communications regarding Michelangelo are incorrect and perhaps also those concerning Raphael. Compare Aretino's letter to Jacopo Sansovino, 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1537 (4), and Vasari, Vita di Michelagnolo (5)

(4) *Lettere ed Paris 1609, I, 190*

(5) *Opere VII, 188*

## XXIV

April—May 1516 Communications on portraits painted by Raphael, and on his studies in archaeology with more, in letters from Bembo to Cardinal Bibiena (6)

3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1516 '— — Io col Navagiero e col Beazzano e con M (7) Baldassar Castiglione e con Raffaello domani anderò a riveder Tivoli, che io vidi già un' altra volta 27 anni sono. Vederemo il vecchio ed il nuovo, e ciò che di bello sia in quella contrada'

(6) *Opere di Pietro Bembo, Venetia 1729, III, 10—13*

(7) *Messer*

19<sup>th</sup> of April 1516 '— — Rafaello, il quale riverentemente vi si raccomanda, ha ritratto il nostro Tebaldeo tanto naturale, che egli non è tanto simile a se stesso,

pals pro se ac procurator et procuratorio nomine honorabilium virorum dominorum Ieronimi Aurelia et Falconis de Caprinis de Viterbio — — dedit, vendidit etc honorabili viro domino Raphaeli Sanctis de Urbino pictori presenti, et pro se ac suis heredibus et successoribus stipulanti, unam domum predictorum de Caprinis positam in burgo Sancti Petri prope viam Alexandrinam infra latera et confines de quibus in instrumento acquisitionis dicte domus facte per dictos de Caprinis — — in ea forma que nunc est, — — pro pretio trium milium ducatorum auri de camera — —'

Furthermore Raphael gave 600 ducats for the dismortgage of the ground which an immediately subsequent document with the same witnesses explains

(1) *ib p 4* Thus the position of the house is determined both here and in a document from 1535 (1) as being on the eastern corner of Borgo Alexandrina and Piazza Salviati, now Piazza Scozzocavalli. Its exterior is known from Lafreri's engraving 1549, which agrees with Vasari's description

(2) *Rafael in seiner Bedeutung als Architekt, II, (1908)* This was certainly the house where Raphael lived and died, thus the one which was mentioned in Pauluzzi's letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1519 (doc XLIII). Theobald Hofmann's hypothesis that Raphael only lived in the house on Piazza Scozzocavalli, but worked in a palace (compare Lafreri's engraving), which he had built closer to St Peter's church, but which was pulled down in 1565 (2), originated from Vasari's statement *per lasciare memoria di se fece murare un palazzo a Roma in Borgo nuovo* etc. It is contradicted by Pauluzzi's letter and is in itself improbable. If Raphael had two houses why did he rent a large building site some few days before his death? (see doc XLIII)

## XXXII

1517—1518 The pictures of Francis I, the Madonna for the Queen, and St Michael for the King, ordered by Lorenzo de' Medici Duke of Urbino, Goro Gheri's correspondance from 1518. The earliest reference in a letter from Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara (3)

(3) *Campori, I c p 114*

28<sup>th</sup> of March 1517 '— — Ho parlato cum Raphael da Urbino il quale di continuo è intorno a l'opera el fa per il Cristianissimo Re, il quale mi ha dato la fede che servito l'avrà non attenderà ad altro ch'a l'opera de Vostra Excellentia — —'

(4) *ib p 117*

March 1518 From the same to the same (4)

'Raphael da Urbino da ora si excusa se'l non avrà fornito a Pasqua l'opera de V Ex<sup>a</sup> perchè 'l Papo, et questo S Duca lo tengono tanto occupato et per ritratti et per disegni che'l non può continuare el lavorage. Et quello che più lo occupa è che Sua San<sup>ta</sup> li ha dato a far uno S Michele grande come el naturale per donare al Cr<sup>mo</sup> Re et bisogna lo facci presto.' Similar letters from the 28<sup>th</sup> of March and the

(5) *ib p 117 et seq*

13<sup>th</sup> of April referred to by Campori (5)

(6) *Gaye, Car-  
teggio II  
146—148*

25<sup>th</sup> of March 1518 Letter from Goro Gheri to Baldassare Turini (6)

'— — Alla Exc del duca adviserò quello advisato della diligenza che vi ha Raffaello da Urbino in lavorare quelle figure, che ha ordine da S Exc, il che so che sarà molto grato a S Exc intendere.'

11<sup>th</sup> of April From the same to the same

'— — La Exc del duca ricorda, come avete visto per la sua, che si sollecite Raffaello da Urbino più presto che può quelle opere che fa per S Exc e così vi ricordo che spesso glielo facciate ricordare.' Further similar letters concerning the sending of the pictures are here omitted

3<sup>rd</sup> of June From the same to Lorenzo de' Medici in France

'— — Le picture che ha facto Raffaello d' Urbino sono a Firenze, domattina si partiranno il mulattieri che le portano. Raffaello ha mandato con quelle un suo garzone.'

The two pictures are signed RAPHAEL VRBINAS PINGEBAT M D XVIII. Sebastiano del Piombo criticised them sharply in a letter to Michelangelo at Flo-

(7) *Irey Aus  
den Briefe an  
M A p 101*

rence, 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1518 (7)

'— — Duolmi nel animo non sette stato in Roma a veder dua quadri, che son ti in Franza, del principe de la Sinagoga, che credo non vi possete imaginar cosa più contraria a l'opinion vostra, de quello havaresti visto in simel opera. Io non vi diro altro, che pareno figure che siano state al fumo, overo figure de ferro che luceno, tutte chiare e tutte nere, et desegnate al modo ve diro Leonardo (8), pensate, come le cosse v'anno dua bravi hornamenti, recette da Franzesi.'

(8) *Sellay*

## 1518 Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici

Letter from the Duke at Florence to Baldassare Turini at Rome (1)

(1) Gaye, *Carleggio II*, 1464<sup>th</sup> of February 1518 '— — El ritratto mio, che fa Raffaello da Urbino e le cose che fa Michelino, quando saranno expedite, le mandarete come advisate'5<sup>th</sup> of February 1518 '— — Circa el ritratto intendo quanto dite che è finito et è bello et molto mi piace, quando sarà tempo mandarlo, lo mandarete'

## XXXIII

1517—1519 Traits of Raphael's character in connection with his townsmen or relations

1517 Letter from Bartolomeo Bibiena to Latino Juvenale regarding the hostilities between Francesco Maria of Urbino and Leo X (2)

(2) *Lettere de' principi I*, 50, Pungileoni, p 1664<sup>th</sup> of September 1517 'Dubito che possa toccare la parte sua del danno a Bernardino ed a Raffaello nostro'(Bernardino Peruli, nobleman from Urbino, married on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1515 Marietta Bibiena, daughter of the Cardinal's brother Pietro)

February 1518 Raphael intercedes in favour of a man who had spread sedition in Urbino in favour of the expelled Duke, Francesco Maria

Letter from Goro Gheri to Baldassare Turini (3)

(3) Gay, *Carleggio II*, 146Florence, 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1518 'Circa quel Marcantonio di Ser Niccolò da Urbino, che raccomandò Raffaello, ne parlerò con la Ec<sup>a</sup> del Duca, e poi vi risponderò Credo che sia in prigione per avere a questi di passati voluto mezzo sollevare il popolo a beneficio di Francesco Maria'

June 1518 Raphael and Antonio Battiferi are summoned as arbitrators in a dispute between the Archdeacon Vincenzo Brancarini and Don Girolamo Vagnini, Raphael's cousin, respecting an ecclesiastical benefice Vagnini was preferred (4)

(4) Pungileoni, p 205

April 1519 Raphael helps through Goro Gheri his 'brother' (= Girolamo Vagnini) to obtain this benefice which Lorenzo de' Medici wanted to withhold

Letter from Goro Gheri to Benedetto Buondelmonte (5)

(5) Gaye, *Carleggio II*, 1497<sup>th</sup> of April 1519 '— — Monsignore Datario (= Baldassar Turini) dice che il fratello di Raffaello d'Urbino vi ha il regresso, noi non sapevano punto che questo fusse il medesimo beneficio di quello del fratello di detto Raffaello etc.'

## XXXIV

July 1518 Conflict with the heirs of Gabriele de Rossi regarding antiquities which Raphael wished to expropriate Document in Archivio di Stato di Roma (6)

'— — quod vir nobilis Gabriel de Rubeis in suo testamento ordinavit quod in casum in quem figuras marmoreas et alias antiquitates ipsius testatoris aliquis superior vellet ab heredibus per vim et violentiam disrapere (should the conservators be summoned) quod possint et debeant illos capere et asportare, et in palatio domorum Conservatorum locare et conservare'

(6) Pungileoni, *Elogio storico di Timoteo Viti*, 1835, p 103 Lanciani, *Rendiconti della R Accademia de' Lincei* 1884, p 791

In the course of the affair Raphael stated that he had a Papal commission to act thus, but the Pope disavowed him

'— — dominus Raphael de Urbino asserens habere commissionem a Sanctissimo domino nostro dictas antiquitates capere et asportare contra voluntatem et ordinem praefati testatoris'

The collection of G de Rossi is described by Claude Belhevre of Lyon (7), it contained several statues and heads, and a statue of the Ephesian Diana

(7) Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma I*, 1902, p 176

## XXXV

December 1518 The Psyche frescos in the Loggia of Agostino Chigi (Villa Farnesina) are completed

(8) Freg, *Ausgew. Briefe an Michelangelo*, 1899, p 132

Letter from Leonardo Sellajo to Michelangelo at Florence (8)



(1) = *peggio* 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1519 '— — È scoperta la volta d'Agostino Ghisi chosa vituperosa a un gran maestro pego (1) che l'ultima stanza di palazzo, assai, di modo che Bastiano non teme di niente Siavi avviso — —'

## XXXVI

September 1518—March 1519 Correspondance with the Duke of Ferrara about the cartoons for St Michael and Jane of Aragon, which Raphael gave him to gain a respite for the pictures he had promised him, when he no longer could excuse himself with the pictures for the King of France or with his great architectural works (2) The pupils are here mentioned

(2) *Campori*  
l. c. 119 et seq

Letter from Monsignore Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara

(3) *Leo X.*  
(4) *innanti*

12<sup>th</sup> of September 1518 'Di continuo tengo sollicitato Raphael da Urbino per l'opera di V Ex<sup>a</sup>, perche N S<sup>ra</sup> (3) li dà tanto che fare ch'è gran cosa El dicto nanti (4) el cominciase la opera per il Cr<sup>mo</sup> Re de la figura de S<sup>to</sup> Michele, facto lo ebbe el cartone, che è molto bello, el me dixè volerlo donare a V Ex<sup>a</sup> et io non lo acceptai nè'l refutai, — — — Volendo poi io andare sino a casa sua, lui è venuto a me a casa, et hollo pregato assai el vogli attendere a finire l'opera, et mi ha promesso farlo Poi parlandomi del cartone perchè sin qui non lo ho acceptato gagliardamente, dubitando lo donasse a V Ex<sup>a</sup> per parerge non potere fare la opera, ora lo ho acceptato, ma ge ho dicto a la aperta che io non voria che la Ex<sup>a</sup> V per questo dubitasse che'l non fusse per farge l'opera El me ha risposto gagliardamente che'l non la dona per questo, ma perchè ge è servitore et affectionato all' E V et che l'opera è cominciata et spera a Natale dargila fornita, o che poco ge manchi, et che'l non è per fare altro lavoro di quella sorte finchè la non e livra, et sia chi si sia ge lo voglia dare Mi ha pregato io scriva a la Ex<sup>a</sup> V non lo (5) vogli fare colorire avendolo avuto il Re de Francia colorito di sua mano et farò di averlo, et farollì fare una cassetta ben invoghata, et per li mulateri lo indirizzarò a Bologna al Bugato (6) — —'

(5) = *cartoons*

(6) *Postmaster*  
*at Bologna.*  
(*Campori*)

22<sup>nd</sup> of September of the same year From the same to the same

'Lo exhibitore de la presente sarà quello gargione de Raphael da Urbino, quale conosce V Ex<sup>a</sup> per essere lui stato altre volte a Ferrara, et va a Venezia mandato da epso Raphael, credo per comperare colori El me ha promesso se presenterà a V E<sup>a</sup>, quella li potrà comettere quanto lo avrà a dire a Raphael circa la opera sua et da epso intenderà la bona disposizione de epso Raphael de servirla, alla cui gratia di continuo me raccomando'

11<sup>th</sup> of November 1518 the Duke thanks Costabili for the reception of the cartoons, and asks him to render his thanks to Raphael together with 25 Scudi Some days later the Duke leaves for Paris to negotiate with Francis I, and here he sees at the house of the Papal legate, Cardinal Bibiena, the portrait of Jane of Aragon married to Ascanio Colonna Contestabili at Naples and celebrated for her beauty and intellect He is so enchanted with this portrait that he writes to his secretary Obizo at Ferrara (7)

(7) *Campori*,  
p. 122

(8) *Costabili*

28<sup>th</sup> of December 1518 'Opizo scrivete a Roma a Mons de Adria (8) che faccia sollicitar la mia pictura che fa Raphael da Urbino et che per il Pauluzzo o per altri faccia parlare ad esso Raphaello, e dirgli che noi desideramo d'aver il cartone di quella pictura ch'esso ha mandato al R<sup>mo</sup> legato, su la quale è ritratta la S<sup>ra</sup> Vicerregina de Napoli et che avendolo ci farà piacer gratissimo a douarcelo circa che usi il prefato Mons<sup>re</sup> quella maniera et mezzo che pare a S S alla qual reputamo che basti far noto il nostro appetito, conoscendo la prudenza et dexterità de sua S'

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1519 Costabili replies to Obizo that Raphael with pleasure will give the Duke the cartoon in question, and on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March he writes to the Duke himself respecting it

'Ho parlato cum Raphael da Urbino secondo la Ex<sup>a</sup> V mi scrive per la sua de' 22 Lui dice non avere mandato quello ritracto a V Ex<sup>a</sup> per cosa di sua mano, ma che avendo voluto Santa Maria in Portico (9) el mandasse uno suo gargione a Neapoli per ritrarre quella Sig<sup>ra</sup>, ha mandato a la Ex<sup>a</sup> V quello proprio ritracto fece il suo gargione Et al fornire la opera a V Ex<sup>a</sup> dice, come lo è solito, che non bisogna che

(9) *Cardinal*  
*Bibiena*

io el solliciti perchè la ave a core più che altra cosa, et me ha dicto avere gran voluntade et desiderio venire a Ferrara per fare riverentia, a V Ex.<sup>a</sup> Et io non manco nè sono per mancare di tenerlo sollicitato — —'

## XXXVII

December 1518—March 1519 Works with perspective effects, probably ceiling decorations in the Loggie and in the theatre of Cardinal Cibo

Letter from Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara, 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1519 (1)

(1) Campori,  
p 121

'— — Raphael da Urbino — — dice — — che da tre mesi in qua lo visto cose assai de prospettiva più el non avesse reduto prima — —'

Letter from Pauluzzi to the same 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1519, concerning the theatrical performance at Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo's in the Vatican (2)

(2) see p 17

'— — il Papa mirando con il suo occhiale la scena che era molto bella, di mano di Rafaele, et rapresentavasi bene per mia fè forami di prospective, et molto furono laudati'

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May Pauluzzi mentions a new scenic arrangement by Raphael for Cardinal Cibo in the Castle of St Angelo (3)

(3) Campori,  
p 131

'non si parlò se non de mascare et de la comedia et aparato de Rafael da Urbino per quella fa recitar Mons Cibo domenica proxima'

In a 'Ricordo' in the accounts of the church of St. Peter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1521 this item can be found which shows how much wood was used for the auditorium (4)

(4) Frey, Zur  
Baugeschichte  
d S Peter, I c.  
p 31

'A Raffaello da Urbino legni 28 di palmi 28 in 30 per la sedili della comedia legni 28'

## XXXVIII

1517?—June 1519 Building and decoration of the Loggie in the Vatican The earliest reference of Raphael's work is found in Bembo's letter to Bibiena, provided that the Loggia which is mentioned here as belonging to Bibiena's apartment is identical with the upper story of the Loggie of San Domaso

6<sup>th</sup> of May 1516 '— — Le camere nove sono fornite e la loggia — —'

But when it is stated in a letter from the following year

19<sup>th</sup> of July 1517 'Di nuovo la loggia di V S si va edificando e torna bellissima E le camere di N S che Raffaello ha dipinte — — — sono bellissime — —' (5), it seems as if the work had been taken up anew Thus we may conclude that the present Loggie are perhaps wholly Raphael's work after a rebuilding, as is stated by Vasari when referring to a model which he probably had seen himself

(5) Opere 1729  
III, 14

'— — diede ancora disegno alle scale papali ed alle logge cominciate bene da Bramante architetto ma rimase imperfette per la morte di quello, eseguite poi col nuovo disegno ed architettura di Raffaello, che ne fece un modello di legname con maggiore ordine ed ornamento che ne aveva fatto Bramante (6)

(6) Vita di  
Raffaello da  
Urbino Opere  
ed Milanesi  
IV, 362

The floor in the Loggie of Leo X was of della Robbia majolica of which fragments are preserved (Appartamento Borgia), hereof two orders of payment were issued from August and September 1518 Register in the Roman archives of the state, not communicated by Frey (7)

(7) Eug Mantz  
Raphael  
p 354 n

Raphael's honorarium for the Loggie is possibly referred to in the following 'ricordo' (8)

(8) Mantz  
Les Historiens  
p 131

7<sup>th</sup> of May 1519 'La S di N<sup>o</sup> S<sup>re</sup> de dare duc. quatrocento d oro di camera dati a Raffaello da Urbino per ordine di S<sup>a</sup> B<sup>re</sup> insieme con una cedula di credito di altri seicento'

At the conclusion of the work a gratuity was paid to the pupils

11<sup>th</sup> of June 1519 'Ali garzoni hanno dipinto la loggia ducati 20 (9)

With reference to the decorations the following is given

Letter from Marc Antonio Michiel

4<sup>th</sup> of May 1519 '— — ha dipinto impalazo 4 camere del pontefice, et una loggia

longhissima, et va dietro dipignendo due altre loggie che saranno cose bellissime' (10)

Baldassare di Castiglione to Isabella d Este at Mantova

16<sup>th</sup> of June same year 'Nostro S<sup>re</sup> sta su la Musica piu che mai e di varie sorti

(9) Zabr No-  
lie est s'cho  
tratte dal  
ch no s'cho  
Vat cano p 21  
Mantz Les  
Historiens p 121  
(10) Mantz  
de l'Hist  
Venet I 1600  
p 101

si diletta anchora de la architettura e va sempre facendo qualche cosa nova in questo palazzo et hor si è fornite una loggia dipinta e lavorata de stucchi alla anticha op̃ra di raphaello bello al possibile e forsi più che cosa che si veggo hoggi di de moderna' (Archivio Gonzaga, Mantova) (1)

(1) *Il Raffaello*  
20—30 IX  
1876, *Passlor*  
IV, I, 515 n 3

27<sup>th</sup> of December 1519 Michiel mentions the final completion of the decoration of all the stories of the Loggie and the placing there of the antique collection of Leo X

— — In questi giorni istessi fu fornita la loggia di sotto del Palazzo de le tre poste una sopra l'altra, rivolte verso Roma a greco, et era dipinta a fogliami, grottesche et altre simili fantasie assai vulgarmente, et con poca spesa, benchè vistosamente Il che si fece perchè l'era comune, et ove tutti andovano, etiam cavalli, benchè la su nel primo salaro Ma in la sopra posta immediate, per essere tenuta chiusa et al piacere solum del Papa, che fu fornita poco avanti, vi erano pitture di gran precio, et di gran gratia, el disegno delle quali viene da Raffaello d'Urbino, et oltra di questo il Papa vi pose molte statue, chel teniva secrete nella salva roba, sua parte et parte già avanti comprate per Papa Iulio, forsi a questo effetto, et erano poste in nicchii incavati tra le finestre alternamente del parete opposito alle colonne over pilastri, et contiguo alle camere, et conclavi consistoriale del Papa' (2)

(2) *Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto I, 1860, 406, el seq*

### XXXIX

Summer 1519 (?) Villa Madama for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici in the course of construction The letter of Castiglione, doc XXXVIII, has been quoted by some in connection with Villa Madama But in reality the only information is in doc LVI, where it is evident that the whole plan was drawn prior to the death of Raphael

### XL

1519—1520 Archaeological works, Raphael's relation to Fabio Calvo Letter from Celio Calcagnini to Jacob Ziegler about 1519 (3)

(3) *Opera aliquot, Basileae 1544, p 101*  
See also Celio Calcagnini's Epigram 'Raphaelis Sancti urbinatis industria', *Passavant I, 522*

— — Est Fabius Rhavennas senex stoicae probitatis, quem virum non facile dixeris humanior ne sit an doctior Per hunc Hippocrates integer plane latine loquitur, et iam veteres illos soloecismos exuit Id habet homo sanctissimus rarum apud omnes gentes, sed sibi peculiare, quod pecuniam ita contemnit, ut oblatam recusset, nisi summa necessitas adigat Alioqui a Leone Pont menstruum habet stipem, quam amicis aut affinis solet erogare Ipse holusculis et lactucis Pythagoraeorum vitam traducit, in gurgustio quod tu iure dolum Diogenis appellaveris, studiis non immorans sed immoriens et plane immoriens, quum gravem admodum et periculosam aegritudinem homo alioqui octogenarius contraxerit. Hunc alit et quasi educat vir praedives et Pontifici gratissimus Raphael Vrbinas, iuvenis summae bonitatis sed admirabilis ingenui Hic magnis excellit virtutibus, facile pictorum omnium princeps seu in theoricen seu praxin inspicias Architectus vero tantae industriae, ut ea inveniat ac perficiat, quae solertissima ingenia fieri posse desperant Praetermitto Vitruvium, quem ille non enarrat solum sed certissimis rationibus aut defendit aut accusat tam lepide, ut omnis livor absit ab accusatione Nunc vero opus admirabile ac posteritati incredibile exequitur (nec mihi nunc de Basilica vaticana, cuius architecturae praefectus est, verba facienda puto) sed ipsam plane urbem in antiquam faciem et amplitudinem ac symmetriam instauratam magna parte ostendit. Nam et montibus altissimis et fundamentis profundissimis excavatis, reque ad scriptorum veterum descriptionem ac rationem revocata, ita Leonem Pont ita omnes Quirites in admirationem erexit, ut quasi celitus demissum numen ad aeternam urbem in pristinam maiestatem reparandam omnes homines suscipiant Quare tantum abest, ut cristas erigat, ut multo magis se omnium obvium et familiarem ultro reddat, nullus admonitionem aut colloquium refugiens utpote quo nullus libentius sua commenta in dubium ac disceptationem vocari gaudeat, docerique ac docere vitae praemium putet Hic Fabium quasi praeceptorum et patrem colit ac fovet ad hunc omnia refert, huius consilio acquiescit'

(4) *Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura italiana ed 1785, IV, 122 et seq*

[Pauli Iovii Raphaelis Urbinatis Vita (4)]

— — Perit in ipso aetatis flore, quum antiquae urbis aedificiorum vestigia architecturae studio metiretur, novo quidem ac admirabili invento, ut integram urbem architectorum oculis consideratam proponeret Id autem facile consequeretur des-

criptis in plano pedali situ ventorumque lineis, ad quarum normam sicuti nautae ex pictae membranae magnetisque usu maris ac litorum spatia deprehendunt, ita ipse iterum angulorumque naturam ex fundamentis certissima ratione colligebat — —']

Letter from Marc Antonio Michiel to Antonio di Marsilio (1)

(1) The letter is given on p. 178 (but omitting this passage)

11<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 '— — morse il gentilissimo ed eccellentissimo pittore Raffaello di Urbino con universal dolore di tutti, e massimamente dei dotti, per liquali più che per altrui, ben ch'è ancora per li pittori ed architetti, egli stendeva in un libro, siccome Tolomeo ha isteso il mondo, su gli edifici antichi di Roma, mostrando sì chiaramente le proporzioni, forme ed ornamenti loro, che averlo veduto aia iscusato ad ognuno aver veduta Roma antica, e già aveva fornita la prima regione. Nè mostrava solamente le piante degli edifici ed il sito, il che con grandissima fatica ed industria delle ruine s'avea raccolto, ma ancora la faccia con gli ornamenti, quanto da Vitruvio e dalla ragione d'architettura e dalle istorie antiche, ove le ruine non le ritenevano, aveva appreso, espressissimamente disegnava — —'

[Epigram of Caius Sylvanus Germanicus, 'In Statuam Leonis X' 1524 (2)]

(2) Gnoli, in Archivio dell'Arte II, 250

— —  
ut saltem veteris vestigia certa figurae  
nota forent, reserare latentia iussit ab imo  
fundamenta solo, et pictis mandare tabellis]

[Sonnet of Baldassare di Castiglione (3)]

(3) Opere latine et volgari, Padova 1733 p. 327

— —  
Roma, fra tue ruine ognuno ammira  
Verran quei dove ancor vita non spira,  
A contemplar l'esprese in bel disegno  
Bellà divina dall' uomo ingegno  
Ond' alcuno avrà invidia a chi or sospira]

[Andrea Fulvio, Antiquitates urbis, Romae 1527, praefatio

'— — Priscaque loca tum per regiones explorans observari, quas Raphael Urbinas, quem honoris causa nomino, paucis ante diebus quam e vita decederet, me indicante, penicillo finxerat']

[Description of Raphael's works by an anonymous writer 1543 National library at Florence, Fond Magliabecchi, classe XVII, pal 5, no 17, fol 99 sq (4)]

(4) Eug Müntz les historiens, p. 145 et seq

'— — Una tavola di una piatt<sup>a</sup> molto bella']

## XLI

About 1514—1519 Other works for Agostino Chigi

Fresco of 'The Sibyls' in Santa Maria della Pace at Rome

Agostino Chigi's will, 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1519 (5)

(5) Fea, Notizie p. 3 The whole will given by Cugnani in Archivio della Società Romana IV, 1881, 198 et seq

'Item voluit, quod capella sita in ecclesiâ Sanctae Mariae de Pace, per dictum testatorem similiter incoepta, sumptibus ipsius testatoris perficiatur, et illi dentur quadraginta ducati de redditu singulis annis'

[The inscription in the chapel, placed by the heirs in 1533, was transferred about 1660, during a restoration in the time of Alexander VII Chigi, to the entrance of the sacristy (6)]

(6) Bellori, Descrizione (1695), 2 ed 1751, p. 212

AVGVSTINUS CHISIVS SACELLVM RAPH VRBIN PRÆCIPVO SIBILLAR  
OPERE EXORNATVM D O M AC VIRGINI MATRI DICAUIT MDXIX etc.

Yet it refers perhaps only to the dotation of the altar in the will, thus the date of the fresco might be much earlier

Agostino also charged Raphael in his will to superintend the decoration of Capella Chigi in S Maria del popolo

'Item voluit pro capella sita in ecclesia monasterii sanctae Mariae de Populo de Urbe sub invocatione sanctae Mariae de Loreto per ipsum testatorem incoepta, perficiatur iuxta ordinationem per ipsum testatorem alias factam, de qua ordinatione mgr Raphael de Urbino et mgr Antonius de Marino sunt bene informati'

The mosaics in the cupola executed by the Venetian Luigi (Alvise) de Pace are dated 1516. After the death of Chigi, April 1520, the heirs made a new contract also as to the mosaics under the windows after drawings which the widow had in her possession (1).

(1) *Cugnoni*  
L. c. III, 1880,  
p. 444

## XLII

(1517)—1520 'The Transfiguration', Altar-picture for the cathedral of Narbonne for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici: it must have been ordered in 1517 together with 'The resurrection of Lazarus' by Sebastiano Luciani (del Piombo). It was not directly stated that it was meant as a competition but on the part of Michelangelo's friends it was understood as such.

(2) *Frey*,  
*Samml. aus-  
gew. Briefe an  
Michelangelo*,  
p. 58

Letter from Leonardo Sellajo to Michelangelo (2)

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 1517 (After the mention of Sebastiano (del Piombo)'s picture) '— — Ora mi pare che Raffaello metta solisopra el mondo perchè lui novella facia (sic!) per non uenire a paragonj'

(3) *Milanesi*,  
*Les correspond-  
ants de Mi-  
chelange*, I.  
1830, p. 6  
(4) *Vaticano*°

Letter from Sebastiano (del Piombo) to Michelangelo (3)

12<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 '— — Et avvisovi come hozi io ho portato la mia tavola un'altra volta a palazzo (4) con quella che ha facto Raffaello, et non ho havuto vergogna. — —'

It took a long time before Raphael began the picture, in 1517 and 1518 he did not undertake anything. cf. the letter from Sebastiano (del Piombo) to Michelangelo (5)

(5) *Frey*, L. c.  
p. 104

2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1518 '— — Ancora Rafaelo non ha principiato la sua.'

1<sup>st</sup> of May 1519 he excuses himself to the men of the Duke of Ferrara saying that he until then had so much to work for the Pope and for Cardinal Medici, but this latter may refer to Villa Madama

(6) *Campori*  
L. c. I, 1863,  
p. 132.

Letter from Pauluzzi to the Duke of Ferrara (6)

14<sup>th</sup> of May 1519 'Parlai ieri in corte cum Rafael da Urbino me risponde non aver altro signore et patrone dipoi el Papa se non vostra Ex<sup>a</sup> et che ora non ci è il Cardinale di Medici avrà più tempo da attendere a l'opera di V. E. et che non vi manca — —.'

(7) *ib* p. 134

The first direct mention of 'The transfiguration' is found in a letter from the same to the same (7)

3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1519 '— — intanto seguirò — — per vedere di esser adnesso in casa, che molto il desidero per vedere et l'opera si de fare per V. S. et una tavola ha per expedita di Mons. R<sup>mo</sup> Medici che intendo esser una bellissima cosa'

In the course of the winter one did certainly work much at the picture. Battista Luteri says to Pauluzzi that it will be ready by Lent

(8) *ib* p. 137

Letter from the same to the same (8)

February 1520 '— — sempre s'excusato sopra il lavor di Medici e per quanto mi dice il fratello di Dosso lo finirà per tutto sto carnevale — —'

(9) *ib* p. 138

Letter from the same to the same, after a visit to the house of Raphael (9)

21<sup>st</sup> of March 1520 '— — essendo stà tandem in casa adnesso a vedere quelle sue tavole che lavora che sono bellissime al mio parere.'

(10) *Michel*.  
See Müntz, *Ra-  
phael* p. 648  
n. 1, after Ci-  
cogna, *Intorno*  
— *Marcantonio*  
*Michel*,  
p. 402.

It is not stated here that Pauluzzi saw 'The transfiguration' and it might be inferred from Sebastiano's above mentioned letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of April of the same year that the picture was in 'Palazzo' (Vaticano), but it cannot be ascertained whether it was painted there, or taken there directly after the death of Raphael. Vasari's report that the picture was exhibited behind the bier of Raphael is improbable, as the deposition took place already on the day after his death. The completion of the picture may probably be dated to December of the same year when the picture of Sebastiano was exposed in public in the Pope's anteroom in the Vatican, it was ready to be sent away in May (10)

(12) *Bottari*,  
*Raccolta di let-  
tere* IV, 8

(13) *Document*  
in the archives  
of the state at  
Florence. Eng.  
Müntz *Ra-  
phael* p. 578  
n. 1

In 1522 Giulio Romano got his salary of 224 ducati d'oro di camera (11) by means of a letter from Count Castiglione (12) 'per conto della tavola da altare dipinta da maestro Raffaello d'Urbino che si donò alla chiesa San Pietro a Montorio di Roma. benchè detta tavola costò ducati 655 di camera.'

But the remainder of the sum 200 ducats, was paid in 1526 in monthly instalments to one of the executors of the will (13).

1526, 1<sup>st</sup> of February '50 ducati a m Baldassare da Pescia a conto delli d 200 restò havere Raphaello da Urbino per la tavola di Sco-Piero' similar 'ricordo' for the 1<sup>st</sup> of April

### XLIII

1519—1520 Raphael's house and daily life, difficulties in architecture, purchase of a building site

Letter from Pauluzzi to the Duke of Ferrara (1)

(1) Campori  
I c. I, 1863,  
p. 134

3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1519 'V<sup>ra</sup> S III<sup>ma</sup> scrive non star bene sicura che ancor sia adnesso in casa di Rafael di Urbino potea dire esser certa, che così è, perchè dipoi in qua, nè in palazzo nè in casa sua l'ha potuto incontrare, pur secretamente ho inteso in la Tavola de vostra S<sup>ria</sup> esservi, nè scio che, designato Et è rivoltata al muro con molte altre tavole sopra, di modo che tengo non expecti altro — —'

From the same to the same (2)

(2) *ib* p. 135

12<sup>th</sup> of September. 'Tornando, in questa sera a casa, et trovata la porta di Raphael d'Urbino aperta, vi entrài tenendo per fermo poter veder quanto desiderava, et facto adimandar M Raphael mi fece risponder non poter venir a basso, et smontato per andar di sopra venne un altro servitore, che mi disse era in camera con M Baldassare da Castione (sic!) che'l lo retragieva, et che non se li potea parlare, mostrai di crederlo et vi dissi che tornaria un'altra volta — —'

Pauluzzi says in a letter from the same year to Isabella d'Este at Mantova that Count Castiglione could actually influence Raphael to begin the painting, but he adds, that he is certain that Raphael does not touch his brushes when Count Castiglione is not present (3)

(3) Campori,  
later I c. p. 304,  
Luzio I c.  
p. 522

'Da M Baldassare da Castione (sic!) con il quale parlai de Rafael da Urbino et disse mi che era molto tempo havea da fare per una opere de la S<sup>ra</sup> Marchesana, et che mai la lavorava se non quando vi era presente, tante erano le sue occupationi Et disse mi che tenea per certo, partito lui, non li lavoraria più'

When her husband the Margrave of Mantova died (29<sup>th</sup> of March 1519), and Isabella wished to erect him a monument, (it is not said for whom, but Geymüller (4) has certainly guessed correctly), Castiglione came to her aid and again thought of prevailing upon Raphael to work for her

(4) Raffaello  
studiata come  
architetto 1884,  
p. 86

3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1519 '— A quanto me scrive V<sup>ra</sup> Ex circa li disegni della sepoltura, penso che quella a quest' hora debba esser satisfatta per uno di Raphaello el quale al parer mio è assai al proposito e portalo Mons<sup>r</sup> di Tricarico Michelangelo non è in Roma, nè con altro che con Raphaello sapri voltarmi e son certo che questo satisfarà' (5)

(5) Campori,  
Atti Memorie  
— — Modenesi  
e Parmensi  
1870, V, 307

Very characteristic of Raphael's conduct is the letter of Pauluzzi of the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1519 'Il capitolo sopra Raphael da Urbino, non ho ancor exeguito, pigliarò comodo per exeguirlo, et lo farò, et prima tentarò ancora se lo potrò vincere con l'umanità consueta, perchè invero li uomini di questa excellentia sentono tutti del melancolico (6) Et tanto più questo vi sente, per essersi posto in questa architettura et fa il Bramante et vorrebbe torre l'arte di mano a Giuliano Leno, et in questa mane lo trovai che ha disposto sopra dui pilastri orver scarpa, che fa far il Papa per fortificare questo primo vólte a la via de' Svizzeri che dimostrava ruina, et addimandatolo mi pregò expectare aver parlato con quelli maestri, che expectassi ad un'altra volta et che andassi quando volessi, fare opera averlo un'altra volta et gli facessi intendere quanto mi accadette l'altro giorno a casa sua, et seguendomi pur con le sue bone parole, et senza effecto, li dirò quanto mi scrive la Excellentia Vostra et del tutto poi ce ne darò avviso — —'

(6) That the  
word had the  
same meaning  
as it has now  
may be seen  
from Bembo's  
letter to Luigi  
da Porto 1506  
Opere III 222

See also the letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1520 regarding the visit to Raphael's house (7) and the letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of March concerning the best method to make a chimney draw (8)

(7) Campori  
p. 138

24<sup>th</sup> of March 1520 Raphael rents a building site close to via Giulia (9) on which occasion he was personally present 'in personam honorabilis viri domini Raphaelis de Urbino pictoris factam — — — dicto honorabili viro domino Raphaeli de Urbino pictori presenti' He engages himself and his heirs to build within five years and if not, the contract would be cancelled 'Itemque in eventum in quem dictus dominus Raphael sui que heredes et successores in dominibus dicto terreno fiendis per quinquennium negligentes fuerint et illas facere cessaverint etc.'

(8) quoted by  
Campori  
p. 132

(9) Document  
of Martinus  
Piscatore  
1523 p. 123  
et seq.

6<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 Raphael's death and testament

Letter from Pauluzzi to the Duke of Ferrara (1)

(1) Campori,  
p 138

(2) cf Cornelis  
de Fine 'mors  
interpestiva

7<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 'Raphael da Urbino ora si è sepolto a la Rotonda, et c morio di una febre continua et acuta (2), che già octo giorni l'assalto, e per esser stà omo de' singular virtù, come è noto a Vostra Excellentia, ne duole a qualunque di esso avea cognitione et per mia fé ch'è stà gran perdita Ha facto il suo testamento, intenderò del modo et ne darò avviso'

(3) Campori,  
Atti e Memorie  
— — Modenesi  
e Parmensi, V,  
1870, p 307  
After this Il  
Raffaello 20<sup>th</sup>  
of Sept 1876

Letter from Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola to Isabella d'Este (3)

'— — la morte de Raffaello d'Urbino, quale morìe la notte passata, che fu quella del venere santo, lasciando questa Corte in grandissima et universale mestitia per la perdita de la speranza de grandissime cose che se expectavano da Lui, quale haverebbono honorato questa etade, et in vero per quello se dice ogni gran cosa se pottea permettere da lui, per le cose sue che già si vegono fatte et per li principij ch'havia dato a maggiore imprese De questa morte li Cielì hanno voluto mostrare uno de li signi che mostrorno nella morte de Christo quando lapides scisi sunt, così il palazzo del Papa s'e aperto de sorte chel minava ruine et Sua S<sup>ta</sup> per paura è fugito dale sue stantie, et è andato a stare in quelle che fese far papa Innocentio

Qua d'altro non se parla che de la morte de quest' homo da bene, quale nel fine de li soi, 33, anni ha finito la vita sua prima Ma la secunda che quella della fama la quale non è subietta a tempo, ne a morte serà perpetua, si per le opere sue quanto per le fatiche de li dotti che scriverano in laude sua, ali quali non gli mancherà subietto — — — — Non altro in bona gratia de V E<sup>ua</sup> me racomando et basogli la mano

Rome Aprilis vij MDXX

De V III<sup>ma</sup> et Ex<sup>ma</sup> S

Detto Raffaello honoratissimamente è stato sepolto ala Rottunda ove lui ha ordinato chel se glie fasi a sua memoria una sepultura da mille ducati, et altri tanti ha lassato per dottare la capella ove serà detta sepoltura, ha dato anchor 300 ducati aciaschun suo servitore

Heri venni nova da Fiorenza che Michel Angelo stasea male — —'

(4) Sanuto,  
Diary, XXVIII,  
col 424, Jacopo  
Morelli,  
Notizie d'opere  
di disegno Bas-  
sano 1800,  
p 210

Letter from Marc Antonio Michiel to Antonio di Marsilio at Venice (4)

11<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 '— — Il venerdì santo di notte venendo il sabato (5), a ore 3 morse il gentilissimo ed eccellentissimo pittore Raffaello di Urbino con universal dolore di tutti e massimamente dei dotti etc — (6) — Ora sì bella e lodevole impresa ha interrotto morte, avendosi invidiosa rapito il maestro giovane di anni 34 (sic!), e nel suo istesso giorno natale

(5) In Michiel's  
diary ed Ci-  
cogna, Memo-  
rie dell' Isti-  
tuto Veneto IX,  
1861, 3, 409, is  
here inserted  
'giorno della  
sua Natività'  
which probably  
is a stylistic  
inaccuracy  
(6) see p 175.

Il pontefice istesso ne ha havuto ismisurato dolore, e nellì quindici (sic!) giorni che è stato infermo, ha mandato a visitarlo e confertarlo ben sei volte Pensate che debbano avere fatto gli altri E perchè il palazzo del pontefice questi giorni ha minacciato ruina, talmente che sua Santità se ne è ito a stare nelle stanze di monsignore Cibo, sono di quelli che dicono, che non il peso delli portici sopra posti è stato di questo cagione, ma per fare prodigio che il suo ornatore aveva a mancare Ed in vero è mancato un eccellente suo pari, e del cui mancare ogni gentil spirito si debbia dolere, e rammaricare non solamente con semplici e temporanee voci, ma ancora con accurate e perpetue composizioni, come, se non m'inganno, già preparanno di fare questi compositori largamente

Dicesi che ha lasciato ducati sedicimila, fra quali cinquemila di contanti, da essere distribuiti per la maggior parte a' suoi amici e servitori, e la casa che già fu di Bramante, che egli comprò per ducati tremila, ha lasciato al cardinal di Santo Maria in Portico Ed è stato sepolto alla Rotonda, ove fu portato onoratamente L'anima sua indubitatamente sarà ita a contemplare quelle celesti fabbriche che non patiscono opposizione alcuna, ma la memoria ed il nome resteranno qua giù in terra, e nelle opere sue e nelle menti degli uomini da bene lungamente — —'

(7) Gage, Car-  
leggio 1840 II  
151 A similar  
letter from  
Lippomanno in  
Sanuto Diary  
XXVIII col. 423  
(— — zovene  
di anni 33 —)

Letter from Angelo Germanello to Federico Gonzaga (7)

11<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 'La nocte del venerdì sancto venendo il sabbato morette Raffaele da Urbino eccellentissimo Pictore, et veramente è stato gran iactura per essere homo raro in lo suo exercitio'



Letter from Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo at Florence (1)

12<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 '— — Credo havete saputo come quel povero de Raffaello da Urbino è morto di che credo vi habbi dispiaciuto assai, et Dio li perdoni — —'

[Cornelis de Fine, *Ephemendes historicae* I (1511—1531) (2)]

'— — invida mors interpestiva sustulit ingenium illud sagacissimum ex medio die Sexta Aprilis 1520 Qui Romae summi pontificis jussu apud Rotundum Divae Virginis Mariae ecclesia vetustissima honorificentissime tumulatus est, etiam sumptibus Leonis X illi fuit monumentum marmoreum in modum sacelli']

The sonnet of Antonio Tebaldeo to Count Castiglione on the occasion of Raphael's death, inserted in an autographic manuscript of Castiglione's poems in Bibliotheca Palatina at Modena (3)

Count Castiglione's Elegy (4)

Qvod lacerum corpus medica sanaverit arte  
Hippolytum Stygus et revocarit aquis,  
Ad Stygias ipse est raptus Epidaurius undas  
Sic precium vitae mors fuit artfici  
Tu quoque dum toto laniatam corpore Romam  
Componis miro, Raphael, ingenio,  
Atque Urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver  
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus,  
Movisti superum invidiam, indignataque mors est,  
Te dudum reddere posse animam,  
Et quod longa dies paullatim aboleverat, hoc te  
Mortali spreta lege parare iterum  
Sic miser heu! prima cadis intercepte juventa,  
Deberi et morti nostraque nosque mones (5)

See also Epigram of Celio Calcagnini (6), epigram of Joh Bapt Pigna (7) and elegy 'De Raphael Urbinate' of Ludovico Ariosto

#### XLV

1520 Epitaph in memory of Raphael and inscription to the memory of Maria Bibiena in the Pantheon The tablets which are of giallo antico are still to be found on each side of the altar against the exterior principal wall The inscription to Raphael which was written by the Bishop of Benevent Johannes de Casa Florentino (8), was published by Vasari in his biography of Raphael, the distich at the end is printed in the works of Bembo (9), both inscriptions are to be found in the work of Forcella (10)

D O M  
RAPHAELI SANCTIO IOANN F VRBINATI  
PICTORI EMINENTISS VETERVMQ AEMVLO  
CVIVS SPIRANTEIS PROPE IMAGINES SI  
CONTEMPLERE NATVRAE ATQVE ARTIS FOEDVS  
FACILE INSPEXERIS  
IVLII II ET LEONIS X PONTT MAXX PICTURAE  
ET ARCHITECT OPERIBVS GLORIAM AVXIT  
V A XXXVII INTEGER INTEGROS  
QVO DIE NATVS EST EO ESSE DESIIT  
VIII ID APRIL MDXX

ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL TIMVIT QVO SOSPITE VINCI  
RERV MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MORI

The date of the day of death 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1520, is the Roman mode of expression — '8<sup>th</sup> day before Idus Aprilis' — and shows that the ecclesiastical or popular determination of days was not thought of, viz that the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1520 was Good Friday Thus the age and birthday are to be understood literally as in the old Roman

(1) *Milanesi, les correspondants de Michelange I, 1890, p 6*

(2) *see doc. XLVIII*

(3) *Campori, in Atti e Memorie — — Modenesi e Parmensi, V, 1870, p 309*

(4) *Castiglioni Carmina, Romae 1760, p 150*

(5) *cf Horatius, Ars poetica v 63 Debemur morti nos nostraque.*

(6) *Passavant I, 522.*

(7) *Carmina lib IV, ed Venezia 1533*

(8) *see Francesco Maria Torrigi, Crypta Vaticanap 287 Bonannus, Numismata summor Pontificum 1696 p. 56*

(9) *Opere, Venezia 1729, IV, 356*

(10) *Iscrizioni delle chiese (etc.) di Roma. 1869, I, 30 and 295*



inscriptions that Raphael was born on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April and not on a Good Friday as tradition would have it since the days of Vasari. If he had been born on a Good Friday which in 1483 according to the Julian calendar fell on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March this would have been mentioned in the tombal inscription by means of additional days. Many parallels to such tombal inscriptions are to be found which Bembo had written, as for instance the inscription to the memory of Count Castiglione (1)

VIXIT ANNOS L MENS II DIEM I

Thus a fact hitherto unnoticed is that Bembo's practice (in this case also that of the Papal court) was established, which was confirmed by Fabio Chigi, subsequently Pope Alexander VII when he, in the beginning of the 17 century writes of Raphael in his biography of Agostino Chigi (2) 'obisse constat anno MDXX die VI Aprilis eadem die qua natus erat septem supra triginta ante annos'

The distich, which reminds of the words in the elephant inscription 'quod natura abstulerat arte restituit', expresses a generally known antique motive — compare the numerous epigrams to the figures of Myron in the Anthology (and Petronius Satyricon 83: 'nam et Zeuxidos manus vidi, nondum vetustatis iniuria victas et Pro-  
tegenis rudimenta cum ipsius naturae veritate certantia non sine quadam horrore tractavi' yet this latter passage was not known before 1662) — Dante says in 'The Purgatory' (X. 37—40) of a relief which not alone competes with Polycletus, but also puts nature to shame and Ghiberti, in his 'commentaries' maintains that antique art surpasses nature itself (3)

The commemorative inscription in memory of Maria Bibiena is as follows

MARIAE ANTONII F BIBIENAE · SPONSAE EIVS  
QVAE LAETOS HYMENAEOS MORTE PRAEVERTIT  
ET ANTE NYPTIALES FACES VIRGO EST ELATA  
BALTISSAR TVRINTVS PISCIE · LEONI X DATAR  
ET · IO BAPT · BRANCONIVS AQVILAN A CVBIC  
B M EX TESTAMENTO POSVERVNT  
CYRANTE HIERONYMO VAGNINO VRBINATI  
RAPHAELI PROPINQVO  
QVI DOTEM QVOQVE · HVIVS · SACELLI  
SVA · PECVNIA · AVXIT

This inscription must have been written with the help of a man acquainted with Greek, because the 2. and 3 line imply a knowledge of the Anthology especially of VII. 182 — The expression 'beati mortui ex testamento' seems to infer that Raphael made a will in due form which there can be no cause to doubt, as did Visconti (4), because such a testament could not be found in our days — Raphael's cousin, Girolamo Vagnini, who mentions himself as having increased the gifts of the altar by his own means was the first curate at the altar, and had already previously received legacies from the family Santi the pecuniary circumstances which were rendered difficult by one man only being thus favoured, were arranged between the families Ciarla and Vagnini on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1521 (5). Probably the inscription was not set up until after this period and Girolamo Vagnini himself was perhaps the author.

(1) Opera, Venetia 1722, IV 356.

(2) ed. Cordero, Archivio della Società Romana II 1879 p. 62.

(3) See v. Schönewasser's edition of these. Jakob d. Zerkow's edition, Leipzig 1910 p. 128.

(4) Panofsky, Raphael and Uffizi I 377.

(5) Panofsky, Raphael and Uffizi I 377.

# ANECDOTES CONCERNING AND CHARACTERIZATIONS OF RAFFAELLO DA URBINO UNTIL VASARI

## I (XLVI)

About 1518 Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, Venetia Aldus 1528, fol 59<sup>r</sup> (1)

(1) must be a reference to two unfinished figures of Fra Bartolomeo, cf Vasari IV, 187

## II

About 1519 Celio Calcagnini's letter to Jacob Ziegler (2)

(2) *Opera aliquot*, Basileae 1544, p 100

## III (XLVII)

1520 Sebastiano del Piombo, letter to Michelangelo 15<sup>th</sup> of October 1512 (1) Original? Gaye, Carteggio II, 487 Judging from the contents, the letter would date from the year 1520, as observed by Springer (3) (During a conversation Leo X says to Sebastiano You have all learned from Michelangelo) 'Guarda lopere di Rafaelo, che come vide le opere di Michelagnolo subito lassò la maniera del Perosino, et quanto più poteva si acostava a quella di Michelagnolo, ma è terribile, come tu vedi, non si pol praticar con lui'

See doc. XL

(3) *Raffael u Michelangelo*, II, 207 and 383

## IV (XLVIII)

Before 1531? Cornelis de Fine, *Ephemerides historicae* I (1511—1531), Codex Ottobonianus 1631 in the Vatican (4)

(4) ed Hub Janitschek, in *Repertorium f Kunstwissenschaft* IX, 1886, p 120 et seq

## V (XLIX)

1534? Pauli Iovii Raphaelis Urbinate vita (5) It has not yet been attempted to date this biography, while one has overlooked that the corresponding biography of Michelangelo ends before his return to Rome (1534) and that in Giovio's 'Dialogus de viris litteris illustribus', which seems to be a part of the art biography, is introduced an address to Clemens VII as living in his completed X<sup>th</sup> Pontifical year (1533—34) Giovio (born 1483) who since 1516 lived at the court of Leo X had known Raphael personally It is surprising to find in the biography so many mistakes concerning the pictures in the Stanze, though one must be thankful to the author for his communications regarding Raphael's principles of surveying, which constitutes one of the proofs for the attribution of the memorial to Raphael

(5) ed Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* Roma IX, 1785, p 122 et seq

## VI

Paolo Giovio (Paulus Iovius), *Lettere volgari*, Venetia, 1560, fol 14 — Lascivious story, of a reply given by Raphael to a lady at the house of Agostino Chigi (6)

(6) reprinted in Müntz, *Les historiens de Raphaël*, p 20

## VII (L)

Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura*, Proemio al IV libro (1540)

## VIII (LI)

About 1542 Letter from Michelangelo to an ecclesiastic, *Bibliotheca Nazionale*, Firenze (7)

(7) Milanese, *Lettere di Michelagnolo*, p 494

'— — Tutte le discordie che naquono tra Papa Iulio e me, fu la invidia di Bramante et di Raffaello da Urbino et questa fu causa che non seguitò la sua sepultura in vita sua, per rovinarmi et avevane bene cagione Raffaello che ciò che aveva dell' arte l'aveva da me'

## IX (LII)

1549 Simone Fornari da Reggio, *Osservazioni sopra il Furioso dell' Ariosto*, p 509

## X (LIII)

Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, Roma, 1553 (8)

(8) ed. Firenze 1746 p 23, 27 47, 56

## SUBSEQUENT COMMUNICATIONS ON WORKS BY RAPHAEL AND HIS PUPILS UNTIL VASARI

### I (LIV)

(1) *Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste, IV, 378, n 3* 1520 Cardinal Bibiena's testament, wherein a Madonna picture of Raphael is given to Count Castiglione Document in the archives of Arezzo (1)  
8<sup>th</sup> of November '— — Item reliquit aliud quadrum pannum pictum manu Raphaelis cum figura b Virginis, quo ipse testator in eius cubiculo utebatur, mag dom Baltha de Castiliono'

(2) *Lettere ed Serassi 1769, I, 75* Castiglione communicates to his mother the arrival of the picture in a letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> of December (2)  
'— — alcune cose mie — — Vi sera un quadro d'una Nostra Donna di man di Raffaello — —' What picture it referred to is not known

### II (LV)

(3) *Dürer's schriftlicher Nachlass, edd K Lange u F Fühse, p 130 et seq* 1521 Albrecht Dürer meets one of Raphael's pupils at Antwerp and sends the whole series of his prints to Rome in exchange for Raphael's 'Ding' (= Marcantonio's engravings) Dairy from the travels in the Netherlands (3)

'Item des Raphaels von Urbino Ding ist nach sein Tod alles verzogen Aber seiner Discipuln einer mit Namen Thomas Polonier (= Tomaso Vincidore da Bologna), ein guter Mensch, der hat mich begehrt zu sehen'

'Ich hab dem Thomas Polonius ein ganzen Druck geben, der mir durch ein ander Maler gen Rom geschickt wurde, der mir des Raphaels Ding dagegen schicken soll'

It can thus be proved that one of Vasari's communications that Raphael himself had sent the engraving of Marcantonio to Dürer is unreliable, his other communication concerning the exchange of drawings is on the contrary confirmed also by other artistic works such as a red chalk drawing (by Penni) of two standing men (Albertina, Fischel 199) bearing an inscription — probably from a subsequent owner for the handwriting is not of Dürer — stating that it had belonged to Dürer And in 1541 Vasari saw at Giulio Romano's at Mantova that portrait of Dürer by himself painted in body-colour which Dürer is said to have given to Raphael, the description is very accurate

### III (LVI)

(4) *Pungileoni, Elogio storico di Raffaello, p 181 et seq* 1522 Villa Madama, letter from Count Castiglione to the Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino (4)

(5) *Opere, cd Le Monnier X, 25, Ed Sansoni (G Milanese) V, 476* 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1522, Rome '— — ch'io voglia — — mandarli la lettera di Raffaello, dove egli descriva la casa, che fa edificare monsignore Rmo (reverendissimo) de Medici questa io non la mando perchè non ho copia alcuna qui, perchè mi restò a Mantova con molte altre cose mie ma a questi dì se è partito di quà D Ieronimo (Vagnini) fratello cugino del prefato Rafaello il quale stimo che abbia copia di essa lettera E V Exza potrà da lui essere soddisfatto, perchè è partito per venire a Urbino'

### IV (LVII)

(7) *Frey Zur Baugeschichte des S Peter, Beiheft zum XXIII Bd der Jahrb der Preuss Kunst-samml 1913, p 29* About 1523? The memorial of Antonio da Sangallo of the church of St Peter with a criticism of Raphael's plan and of some parts executed by Raphael Manuscript on a sheet of paper among architectonic drawings by Sangallo in the collection of drawings at the Uffizi, published by the commentators of Vasari (5), the back facsimilated by v Geymüller (6) — The dating of this writing or rough draught for a memorial, of which nothing historical is known entails great difficulties We can here only determine the latest period (1539), when Antonio da Sangallo the younger began the execution of a model for the church from a new ground-plan C Frey thought that this year was the correct date for the memorial (7), Jovanovitz (8) dated it directly after the death of Raphael, Dagobert Frey (9) was also of the same opinion, saying that the sketches of Antonio da Sangallo which are connected with the memorial give the same dis-

(6) *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom, 1875, fig 20*

(8) *Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche 1877, pages 10, 39*

(9) *Bramante-studien I, 27*

position as the ground-plan of Raphael in contrast to the executed plan of 1539, and consequently cannot be regarded as a transition to it. Quite a failure is certainly a Geymüller's theory that the memorial was written while Fra Giocondo (Giuliano da Sangallo) and Raffaello together directed the building of the church between the 1<sup>st</sup> of September (?) 1514 and the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1515: certain forms of the plural 'è fanno' were supposed to indicate this. With the same uncertain arguments we might say that the expression 'il figlio Raffaello (which Raphael had made) indicated that he no longer was alive. The principal objection to this theory is made by Dagobert Frey: 'dass zu Raffaels Zeit eine Kritik der Massnahmen des Chefarchitekten durch seinen Untergebenen und Adjunkten ganz unangebracht für ihrem Autor auch nicht unbedenklich und für ihre Realisirbarkeit durchaus belanglos gewesen wäre' (1). We may add, that Antonio at the period stated by Geymüller, can only have followed in the footsteps of his uncle Giuliano da Sangallo who himself was one of the architects of the church for he had as yet no important position which would permit him of making a criticism for not until May 1517 was he appointed 'coadiutor', as his uncle's successor — The probable date must have been at the time of the election of Clemens VII, when the offices were renewed after Hadrian VI had reduced them.

'Mosso più a misericordia di Dio e di San Pietro, e onore e utile di Vostra Santità che a utilità nostra, per fare intendere chome li danari che si spendono in Santo Pietro si spendono chon poco onore e utile di Dio e di Vostra Santità, perchè sono buttati via. Le chagione sono queste infrascripte

In prima, bisognava chonchordare la pianta, la quale è tutta disforme fare che vi sia qualche chapella grande oltra alla maggiore, per che non ci è se non chapelle, e fare che vi sia conformità la quale non v'è, nè perfettione in molti luoghi

Secunda, li pilastri della nave sono più grossi che quelli della tribuna, che vorrino essere mancho, o almancho eguali

Tertia, chonchordare li pilastri di fuori che sono doriche, e sono più di dodici teste e sogliono essere sette

Quarta, achordare quelli di dentro se hanno avere zocholo o no, per li inconvenienti che fanno nelle chapelle

Quinta, se segue chome è cominciato la nave grande sarà lunga e stretta e alta, che parerà uno vicolo

Sesta, detta nave sarà ischurissima e così in molti altri luoghi della chiesa seguita chosì, per che non li possono dare lumi buoni

Settima, la tribuna grande rimediare che non posi in falso, e fare chosa sopra alli archi, ch'è plastro (2) possino chonportare, sendo fatti nel modo che sono fatti. Li ornamenti non parlo se ne può fare quanto l'omo vole, secondo la volontà del patrone. (2) = pilastri

E a tutte queste cose soprascripte se può rimediare e choregiere e achompagnare e chonformare facilmente

Ancora, levare via le porte che passano dell' una chapelle nell' altra che so' infame, che paiono balestrere

Anchora dicho, che l'emicichlo che e' fanno nella testa delle chroci è falso in questa opera non ch'el lavoro non sia perfetto in sè solo e bello, ma imperfetto in questa opera, perchè resta lì, e non seguita, e schonpagna l'opera, quale è chosa pessima

Item, le chornige di marmo che à fatto Raffaello nella chapelle sono false, perchè non vole eservi le risalite che vi sono

Item, le chornige che à fatte Raffaello di treverio (3) dicho essere falso in quello locho, perchè e chornicie fregio e architave è falso e non pò stare quando non à sotto e pilastri cho' loro chapitelli e basa, quale qui non è. (3) = trever-tino

## V (LVIII)

1531 Works of Raphael in the possession of the Duke Federico Gonzaga and Lodovico Canossa Letter from Ippolito Calandra to the Duke (4) (4) Passavant. Raphael d'Urbain II 251 after Pungileoni.

## VI (LIX)

Marcantonio Michiel's communications concerning works of art in North Italian collections Manuscript in the Marcus library at Venice 'Pittore e Pittur in diuersi luoghi', published by Jacopo Morelli by the title of 'Notizia d'opere del disegno', Bassano 1800, again published by Th v Frimmel (1), revised and commentated by same (2)

- (1) *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte. Neue Folge, I, 1888*  
(2) *Blätter für Gemäldekunde, II 1907, Beilage, p 37 et seq*

p 10<sup>r</sup> 'Padova In casa di Misser Pietro Bembo — — Il quadro in tauola dell'itratti dil Nauagiero et Beazzano fu di mano di Rafael d'Urbino

Il ritratto piccolo di esso M Pietro Bembo allora che giouine staua in corte dil Duca d'Urbino, fu di mano di Rafael d'Urbino in m<sup>ta</sup> (either = matita, chalk, thus read by Minghetti, Raffaello, 1885, p 67), or = miniata, miniature, according to Frimmel's interpretation)

p 12<sup>r</sup> Padova In casa di M Marco da Mantova Dottore

El quadretto a oglio del S Hieronimo, che fa penitenza nel deserto fu di mano di Raffaello d'Urbino

p 56<sup>r</sup> Venezia In casa di M Antonio Foscari 1530

El ritratto insino al cinto a oglio in tauola del Parmesan fauorito di Papa Giulio (3), fu di mano di Rafaelo d'Urbino, hauuto dal Uescovo di Lodi

p 59<sup>r</sup> Venezia In casa di M Zuanantonio Venier in Venezia, 1528

La tela della S Margarita poco menor del naturale, fo di man de Raphaelo d'Urbino etc (followed by a long description)

p 61<sup>r</sup> Venezia In casa del Cardinal Grimano 1521

El cartone della conuersione di S Paulo, fo di mano di Rafaelo, fatto per un dei razzzi della capella

p 66<sup>r</sup> Venezia In casa di M Chabriel Vendramin 1530

Le due carte, una in cauretto (4) dela istoria de Atila et l'altra in bombasina (5) del presepio, de chiaro et scuro de inchiostro, forono de mano de Rafaelo'

In a letter to Michiel of the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1524 (6), the 'Madonna del pesce' at Naples is mentioned

— — In la medesima chiesa (S Domenico, Napoli) dentro la cappella del Sign Ioan Baptista del Duco è l'angelo con Tobia facto per man di Raphaël di Urbino'

Of the above mentioned pictures the only one which with certainty can be traced is 'S Margarita' at Venier at Venice provided it be identical with the picture of this subject by Giulio Romano now at Vienna (7), and 'Madonna del pesce', now at Madrid The double portrait of Nauagiero and Beazzano is mentioned in the following letter of Bembo, but its fate is unknown The other works are lost

1538 Letter from Pietro Bembo to Marcantonio Anselmi (8), 29<sup>th</sup> July Villa Mozza

'Son contento, che al Beazzano si dia il quadro delle due teste di Rafael da Urbino e che glieli facciate portar voi ed glieli diate, pregandolo ad aver cura che non si guastino E se gli vorrete mandare con la sua cassa, sate come vi parrà il migliore'

## VII (LX)

1540 Sebastiano Serlio, Architettura, lib III Communications concerning the church of St Peter and Villa Madama

## VIII (LXI)

1543 List of Raphael's works at Rome, in a manuscript in the national library at Florence (9)

## IX (LXII)

1575 Jacopo de Strada in the preface to Seb Serlio, Architettura, Frankfurt 1575, mentions architectonic drawings by Raphael in the possession of Pierino del Vaga's and Giulio Romano's heirs

- (3) *I eo X's favorite, the old and very ludicrous amateur musician Evan gelista Tarascona, who is mentioned by Paola Giova. Passavant II, 363.*

- (4) *goat-skin parchment*

- (5) *wool-paper*

- (6) *Cicogna in Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto IX, 1860, p 413*

- (7) *Frimmel, Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen I, 355*

- (8) *Bembo, Opere 1729 III 256*

- (9) *Müntz, Les historiens etc. p 145 et seq*

